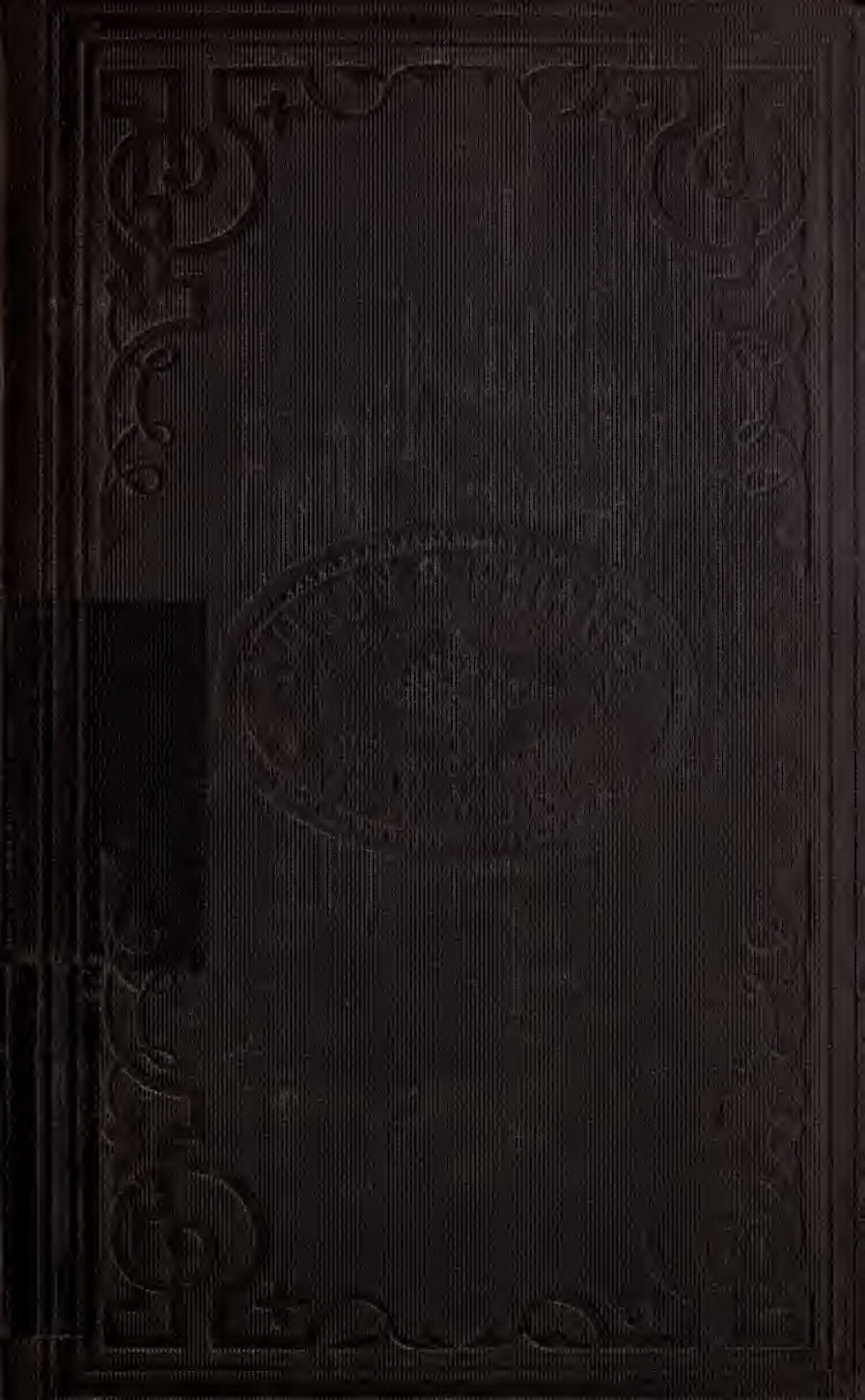

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ESSAYS AND REVIEWS.

By ALBERT BARNES.

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REESE LIBRARY OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

ESSAYS AND REVIEWS.

IX.

[BIBLICAL REPOSITORY, 1840.]

The Ancient Commerce of Western Asia.

UNDER the general term, Western Asia, we include Palestine and the adjacent regions of ancient Chaldea, Syria, and Arabia; not designing to offer any remarks on what would be itself sufficient for an interesting article—Asia Minor.

There are few persons in the Christian world who do not feel *some* interest in Palestine, and the adjacent regions. It is not indeed a country rich in classic associations; and the feelings with which it is to be trod by the traveller must be different from those which he has who wanders among the ruins of Ionia, or who walks over the plain of Marathon, or who roams over the desolate fields of ancient Troy, or who climbs the side of Parnassus, or who looks upon the Parthenon, and the gently-flowing Ilissus. Yet it has not been without some interesting associations apart from the subject of religion. The reader of ancient history will remember that it was on this land that Alexander of Macedon poured his phalanxes when on his way to the conquests of the East; that it was here that Tyre resisted his arms for eight months before it could be subdued; and that it was here that his

chief battles were fought, and his glory achieved. The great kingdoms of Assyria and Babylonia also, in their times—not less extended than in subsequent ages was the empire of Rome itself—existed in this portion of the world. Science, too, if it had not its origin, yet made some of its first achievements in Chaldea, on whose plains, perhaps, men first looked out with attention on the stars, and gave names to Orion, to Arcturus, and to the Pleiades. In that region, too, in later times, stood the empire of the Caliphs, in whose capital science received some of its mightiest impulses, and in which the elements of science were originated, which, brought back by the Crusades, exert their wide influence still on mankind.

Were it our purpose, we could easily occupy the space for this article in descriptions of battles and sieges; of the conquests, the flames, and the horrors of war; of scenes of ambition and splendour and blood, enacted on the now desolate region which we propose to describe, of as thrilling interest as have occurred on more classic ground. We refer to one single place. On the south of Mount Tabor, in Palestine, there spreads out for some twenty miles in extent, the beautiful plain of Esdraelon—the great battle-ground of the oriental world. It is described as a plain of great beauty; and hither, from different nations, armies have rushed to meet in mortal conflict. Waterloo is celebrated for one great battle; and Leuctra for another;—but many an army from distant climes, with different arms, and complexions, and objects, has been gathered on the plain of Esdraelon, and the bones of warriors, of different ages and nations, have found their last resting-place there. Barak, descending with ten thousand men from Mount Tabor, here discomfited the army of Sisera; and here Josiah, King of Judah, met the King of Egypt, and fell. "It has been a chosen place of encampment in every contest carried on in this country from the early days of the Assyrian history, until the disastrous march of Napoleon from Egypt

into Syria. Jews, Gentiles, Saracens, Christian Crusaders, and Anti-Christian Frenchmen, Egyptians, Persians, Druses, Turks, and Arabs, warriors out of every nation which is under heaven, have pitched their tents upon the plain of Esdraelon, and have beheld the various banners of their nations wet with the dews of Tabor and of Hermon."*

To the Christian we need not say that no part of that land can be trod but with thrilling interest. There is not a hill or vale there; a mountain or a plain; a rivulet or a lake; a cliff or a cavern, which is not rendered sacred by some deeply interesting association. It is the land of the prophets and of the Redeemer—the radiating point of what is yet to be the religion of the world. On that land, too, the nations of Europe, roused by the preaching of Peter the Hermit, were poured for conquest;—and there occurred the thrilling and romantic scenes of the Crusades—events so momentous in their reflex influence on Europe, and on the civil laws and the literature of the world. Any one of the points on which we have now touched would furnish materials for an interesting article. But we shall not return to them again.

The leading design of this article is, to show that the Scripture prophecies *must* certainly be accomplished; and that there are causes now rendering their fulfilment certain; causes resulting from changes in the commerce of the world which none but an inspired mind could have foreseen. To illustrate this, I shall show the nature and the extent of the ancient commerce of Western Asia; the influence which that commerce had in giving origin to the cities and towns that are now sunk in ruins; the changes which have occurred in the commercial relations of that portion of the world; the causes, and the inevitable effect of those changes in securing the permanent fulfilment of the prophecies. One reason of

* Robinson's Calmet.

entering into this discussion is, that while the fact of the fulfilment of the prophecies respecting Babylon, and Petra, and Tyre is now generally admitted, and is indeed undeniable, the *causes* of their exact fulfilment seem not to be as generally understood, and the reasons which operate to secure the permanent fulfilment of those prophecies seem scarcely to have received any attention. After all that *has* occurred, an infidel might still be disposed to ask, What evidence is there that Babylon and Tyre will not rise from their ruins, and again be at the head of empire and of commerce? Why may not the deserts of Idumea again be thronged with caravans, and Petra be again a splendid commercial emporium? Our aim will be to show that the great changes which have occurred in the world make it certain that this can never again happen; that their desolation is complete and certain; and that, whatever revolutions may occur again in Western Asia, *those* places are destined to remain as the prophets said they would.

Whoever will cast his eye on the map of the world, will see that the region of which Babylon was the centre, is by nature perhaps better fitted to be the seat of empire than any other portion of the earth; or at least that it possesses extraordinary advantages for being the centre of a wide dominion. It is a central position between Europe and Western Asia on the one hand, and Central Asia and India on the other. Whatever may be said of it now, it was once distinguished for a most fertile soil, and for all that can contribute to the wealth and power of a kingdom. It was in fact the early seat of empire. The kingdoms of Assyria and Babylon rose to the height of power long before Rome had extended its arms beyond Italy; and such was the pride, and power, and extent of those kingdoms, that when Alexander had conquered them, and had reached the Indus, he felt that there was a natural limit to conquest, and that he

had in fact subdued the world. Amid all the desolations of war in that vast region, cities struggled into being; and when one fell another rose in its place;—as if the land was reluctant to yield to the desolating tread of conquerors, and would assert its native right to be the centre of power, notwithstanding every effort to strew it with ruins. When, after the downfall of the Chaldean and Persian monarchies, the glory of Babylon waned, Seleucia, a great and flourishing city, rose on the banks of the Tigris. Under the sway of the Arabians, Bagdad and Ormus rivalled Babylon and Seleucia, and became like them the home of the merchant, and the abode of the learned.*

As this region was the natural seat of empire, so it was of ancient commerce. The great prize in all ancient commerce, as it has been to a great extent in all modern commerce, was INDIA. To secure the rich and much-valued productions of India led to most of the schemes of commerce in ancient times; to most of the discoveries made by navigation; and to most of the changes which have occurred in the commercial world. This was the object of the ancient commerce by caravans across the plains of Chaldea and Syria; and to accommodate those caravans the cities of Seleucia, and Bagdad, and Tadmor, and Damascus, and Tyre, rose and flourished; and this rich commerce gave existence and splendour to the city of Alexandria in Egypt, more than 1800 years. To accommodate this commerce, Petra rose into grandeur and wealth in Idumea, and Tyre acquired her importance. In subsequent times, Venice and Genoa flourished on the riches of the commerce of India; and in pursuit of the same object Columbus directed his course to the West, and discovered the New World; and at nearly the same time the discovery of the Cape of Good Hope gave a new direction to

* Biblical Repository, vii. 365.

commerce, and changed the aspect of nations. The glittering prize of INDIA, then, has contributed more to the founding of cities and kingdoms, and to the discoveries in the art of navigation, than any other single cause. Nearly all the cities in that region whose commerce we are attempting to describe, rose and fell with the fluctuations of that commerce; and the great changes there have been caused by the different direction which the wealth of India has taken in its passage to Europe, and to our own country.—What was that prize? In what did it consist? And why should the changes in it be attended with so important consequences on the aspect of the world?

As all that we have to say depends on the character and value of the ancient commerce of India, and its changes, it is important to remark that the ancient merchandise of India consisted chiefly in that which went rather to promote the luxury, than the necessities or the comforts of mankind. It will at once be seen that the heavier articles of modern commerce could have had no place in the traffic which was carried on, almost wholly by land, with that remote country. Men usually prize that most which comes from distant lands; and though much that was brought from the East was comparatively valueless in regard to the rêal necessities of life, and contributed much, by the luxury which it engendered and fostered, to the ultimate downfall of the Roman Empire, yet it was not sought with the less avidity, and gave birth, as it does now, to some of the most daring and hazardous expeditions in which man can engage. Among the articles which constituted that commerce, and gave so much importance to the ancient intercourse with the oriental world, were—

First—Spices and Aromatics. They were produced chiefly in the East; they were consumed in the West. The custom prevailed in all ancient worship of using frankincense as an

agreeable, and, as it was supposed, an acceptable part of worship. It was burnt on the altar and in the censer, in the worship of Jehovah at Jerusalem, and in all the temples of the numerous gods that were adored in Chaldea, in Arabia, in Egypt, at Athens, and at Rome. But aromatics and spices, with the ancients, were used not only in public worship. They were deemed invaluable for the health and ornament of the body while living, and for its funeral rites. The Romans were accustomed to burn the bodies of the dead; and it became a matter of vanity, or of respect for the dead, to accompany the funeral obsequies with a large quantity of aromatics. The dead body and the funeral pile were covered with the most valuable spices. At the funeral of Scylla, two hundred and ten "burdens" of spices were strewed on the pile. Nero is said, at the funeral of Poppœa, to have burned a quantity of cinnamon and cassia greater than the countries from which it was imported produced in a year. "We consume in heaps," says Pliny, "these precious substances with the carcasses of the dead; we offer them to the gods only in grains."* The Egyptians, too, embalmed their dead; and the materials for embalming were chiefly the productions of the East. The catacombs of Egypt, it is said, now furnish

* Nat. Hist. lib. xii. c. 18. It is true that frankincense was at first introduced into Europe not from India, but from Arabia. But it is now well known that the Arabians not only furnished to foreign merchants the productions of their own country, but also those of higher value, which they brought from India. In every ancient account of the commodities of India, spices and aromatics hold a conspicuous place. Strabo, lib. ii. p. 156, also lib. xvii., asserts that the greater part of the spices imported were not the production of Arabia, but of India. In the Augustan age, an entire street in Rome was occupied by those who sold frankincense, pepper, and other aromatics. Hor. Epis. lib. ii. 1, 269, 270.

Deferar in vicum vendentem thus, et odores,
Et piper, et quidquid chartis amicitur ineptis.

articles of fuel in the vast quantities of aromatics that were employed in embalming the dead.

The process of embalming was first described by Herodotus, who visited Egypt about 460 years before Christ. The custom of embalming the dead among the Egyptians, so as to preserve the body for thousands of generations, arose from the doctrines of their religion, in which it was taught that the continuance of the soul in a state of blessedness was contingent upon the preservation of the body. When *that* perished the banished soul had to begin anew its career in connection with physical existence, and after migrating again through various forms of being for 3000 years, ultimately became reunited with the human form—to go over again the same precarious mode of being.* It was from this opinion that so much care was evinced to preserve the human body. Our purpose does not require us to state the process of embalming further than may be connected with the commerce of the East. The immense amount of aromatics of various kinds employed in embalming the millions who now repose in the catacombs of Egypt, must have been borne there by an extended and an active commerce. A small part of the materials were produced in Egypt. Some were produced in Arabia; and much was brought through Arabia and other thoroughfares from India. As early as the time of Joseph, (B. C. 1729,) we learn that Ishmaelites passed through Canaan on their way to Egypt, "bearing spicery, and balm, and myrrh, going down to carry it to Egypt." Gen. xxxvii. 25. This was probably for the purpose of embalming, and was perhaps in part the production of Gilead; but more probably these merchants were, to a considerable extent, mere carriers, bearing to Egypt the productions of countries still farther east. "Here," says Dr. Vincent, "upon opening the oldest

* Note of the Editor of the Pictorial Bible on Gen. iv. 2.

history in the world, we find the Ishmaelites from Gilead conducting a caravan loaded with the spices of India, the balsam and myrrh of Hadramant; and in the regular course of their traffic proceeding to Egypt for a market. The date of this transaction is more than seventeen centuries before the Christian era, and notwithstanding its antiquity, it has all the genuine features of a caravan crossing the Desert at the present hour.* The articles enumerated here are, 1, "Spicery,"—נְכֹאת—*Nechoth*—rendered by the LXX. *θυμίατα*, and by Aquila *στύραξ*.—The Arabic is *gum*.—The Hebrew word denotes properly a breaking to pieces, hence *aromatic powder*, and is here a generic word to denote spices, or aromatic substances. The Syriac in this place is *Retine*—rendered by Walton *resina*, and probably denoting some resinous substance, obtained from a species of pine or of the terebinth-tree. Frankincense is obtained from a species of the fir, and the *Nechoth* referred to here may have been a species of frankincense employed for the purpose of fumigation, or it may have been a resin employed in embalming. Palestine and the adjacent countries produced the terebinth-tree in perfection, and it is not improbable that this may have been a production of that country. 2. *Balm*—צֳרִי. Vulg. *resinam;* Sept. *ῥητίνη—resin*. The Hebrew word means *opobalsamum* —balm of Gilead, distilling from a tree in Gilead, and used in medicine. Bochart, Hieroz. tom. i, p. 628.—The tree producing this is almost peculiar to the land of Judea. A small piece of this is said by Theophrastus to be so odoriferous that it will fill a large space with its perfume. He says that in his time it was produced only in two small enclosures in some part of Syria—*τὸ δὲ βάλσαμον γίνεται μὲν ἐν τῷ αὐλῶνι τῷ περὶ Συρίαν*. Bruce, however, describes it as growing in Azab, and

* Commerce and Navigation of the Ancients, vol. ii. p. 262. Pictorial Bible, vol. i. p. 102.

all along the coast of Babelmandel. The balsam of Gilead is about fourteen feet high, with diverging branches that bear leaves at their extremities. The fruit is a berry, of an egg-shape, marked with four seams, and with two cells.—3. *Myrrh* —Heb. נָטָף. Vulg. *stacten;* Sept. *σταχτῆ*. This is obtained from a species of *balsamodendron*, a native of Arabia. It forms stunted groves, which are intermingled with acacia, moringa, &c. The gum is fragrant, and is gathered from the leaves.—All these productions are similar in their nature, and were all adapted to the purpose of embalming, and were no doubt conveyed to Egypt with that view.

This traffic thus early commenced must have been carried on during the succeeding ages, and constituted a profitable trade with the Egyptians.—They received in return, corn, fine linen, robes, carpets, &c. The Egyptians themselves, like the Chinese, carried on no foreign commerce. They abandoned the navigation of the sea to others; but it was their policy, like the Chinese, to make it the *interest* of other nations to trade with them, and to bring them the productions of their climes. In subsequent periods, they had the control of no small part of the commerce of Greece and Rome by the dependence of those countries on them for corn.

Herodotus, (ii. 86,) in describing the process of embalming, mentions the following materials as being employed, which may serve to illustrate the nature of the commerce that was carried on with that country. "They cleanse the intestines thoroughly, washing them with palm-wine, and afterwards covering them with pounded aromatics—*θυμιήμασι περιτετριμμενόις*: they then fill the body with powder of pure myrrh, pounded—*σμύρνης ἀκηράτου τετριμμενής*, and cassia—*κασίης*, and all other perfumes except frankincense; *πλὴν λιβανωτοῦ*. Having sown up the body, it is covered with nitre for the space of seventy days, which time they may not exceed; at the end of which period it is washed,

closely wrapped in bandages of cotton, dipped in a gum—*τῳ κόμμι*, which the Egyptians use instead of glue." Considering the vast population of Egypt, the commerce in aromatics for the purposes of embalming alone must have been very considerable.

We have already remarked, also, that great quantities of aromatics were used by the Romans and other nations in burning the bodies of the dead. A few passages from the classic writers will show the extent to which this prevailed, and the importance of the fact in estimating the extent of the commerce with the East. *Oil* was used to anoint the dead. So Homer (Il. *Σ*.) says, *Καὶ τότε δὴ λοῦσαν τε καὶ ἤλειψαν λίπ' ἐλαίῳ*. So Virgil, (Æn. vi. 219.) *Corpusque lavant, frigentis, et unguunt.* Myrrh and cassia were used. Thus Martial (x. 97) says, *Dum myrrham et casiam flebilis uxor emit.* Thus also *amomia*, whence the word *mummy*, was used. This was an herb—usually called Jerusalem, or ladies' rose. It was produced in Armenia, and must have constituted an article of Eastern commerce. It was mingled with their spices when they embalmed the dead, or when the dead were prepared for burning.—*Assyrio cineres adolentur Amomo Statius*, Syl. lib. ii. So Persius (sat. iii.) says,

> Tandem beatulus alto
> Compositus lecto, crassisque lutatus amomis.

A passage from Tibullus will show not only the prevalence of the fact, but also the origin of the spices which were used, illustrating the position that they constituted a part of the commerce of the East:

> Illic quas mittit dives Panchaia merces
> Eoique *Arabes, dives et Assyria*,
> Et nostri memores lachrymæ fundantur, &c. Lib. iii. eleg. 2.

So Ausonius, (Heroum, epitaph. 36:)

> Sparge mero cineres, bene olenti et unguine nardi,
> Hospes, et adde rosis balsama puniceis.

Nard, an Oriental production, usually obtained in the Indies, was sprinkled on the flame when the dead body was burning.

Cur nardo flammæ non oluere meæ? Propertius, lib. iv.

Unguenta, et casias, et olentem funera myrrham
Thuraque de medio semicremata rogo, &c. Martial, lib. xi. epig. 55.

Honey was also used to preserve the bodies of the dead. Pliny, lib. xxii. cap. 24. So Xenophon says, that when Agesipolis, King of Sparta, died, he was laid in honey—ἐν μέλιτι τεθείς, and was borne to the royal sepulchre. So Statius (lib. iii. Syl.) says,

Duc ad Æmathios manes, ubi belliger urbis
Conditor, Heblaeo perfusus nectare, durat.

Other quotations of a similar import may be seen in Ugolin's Thesaur. Ant. Sacra. tom. xiii. 470, seq.

Great quantities of balsam, myrrh, and spices were also used, as is well known, in adorning the person, being employed in various kinds of unguents—and these constituted of course a part of the commerce of the East.

Jamdudum *Tyrio* madefactus tempora Nardo. Tibull. lib. iii. eleg. 6.

Si sapis *Assyrio* semper tibi crinis amomo
Splendeat. Martial, lib. viii. epig. 76.

———hirsuto spirant opobalsama collo. Juvenal, sat. ii.

Pressa tuis balanus capillis. Horatius, lib. iii. od. 29.

Myrrheum nodo cohibere crinem. Od. 14.

The *origin* or *source* of some of these articles of luxury is indicated by the quotations above, and also by an expression in Sidonius Apollonar.:

Indus odorifero crinem madefactus amomo.

Myrrh was also used in wine, to make it more powerful. Thus Ælien (His. lib. xii. c. 31) says, μύρῳ δινον μιγνύντες ὕυτως ἔπινον.—That vast quantities of aromatics were used by the Romans as articles of luxury, it is not needful to

demonstrate. The following passages may be referred to as additional proofs and illustrations. Hor. od. xiii. Martial, lib. iii. epig. 82; lib. ii. epig. 12. Seneca, Thes. act. v. Lucan, Pharsa. lib. x. &c., &c. See Ugolin, Thesaur. Sacra. Ant. tom. xiii. pp. 462–468. In numerous instances the *East* is indicated as the source of these articles; in nearly all they were probably derived from Oriental regions, and constituted a part of the traffic with India.

Precious stones and pearls constituted also an important item in the ancient commerce of the East. They are articles almost wholly of mere luxury; but the world has always manifested a reluctance to have that commerce restricted or circumscribed. Especially were they held in high value by the Romans. Pliny arranges and defines them; and the immense number which he describes (Nat. Hist. lib. ix. c. 35) shows the extent to which the traffic was carried in his time, and its value as a part of the commerce with the East. India was the country whence these were brought at first, and it was supposed to be the part of the earth where they were produced in greatest profusion.

Pearls, in ancient times, were regarded as valuable to an extent which now almost surpasses belief. Julius Cæsar presented Servilia, the mother of Brutus, with a pearl for which he paid a sum equal to forty-eight thousand four hundred and fifty-seven pounds. The famous pearl ear-rings of Cleopatra were in value one hundred and sixty-one thousand four hundred and fifty-eight pounds. Robertson's India, p. 25, Ed. N. Y. 1829.

Gold, too, was a part of that commerce. The gold of Ophir, wherever that was, was proverbial. The Mexican mines were yet unknown; and when Columbus became acquainted with the existence of gold in vast quantities in the Western World, he regarded it only as a new proof that he had been successful in reaching India by steering his course

to the West. In regard to the commerce with Ophir, we shall endeavour to illustrate it further when we come to consider the ancient commerce of the Hebrews.

Another article that was in great demand, and that early constituted a part of the merchandise that was conveyed through Western Asia, was silk. The practicability of raising the Moris Multicaulis was not then tested in Europe, and the ancients were obliged to import it from distant lands. It was confined, however, to the rich. Princes and the most wealthy alone could wear it. Its regular and fixed price for ages was its weight in gold. This price continued to the time of Aurelian; and what is remarkable is, that for centuries no advance was made either in learning from what countries it was produced, or what was its nature. It was not until the sixth century that the real nature of silk became known at the West. By some, it was supposed that it was a fine down adhering to the leaves of certain trees or flowers; by others it was supposed to be a delicate species of wool or cotton; others conjectured that it might be the production of a species of insect. Silk was regarded as a dress too delicate, and too expensive for men,* and was at first appropriated only to women of rank and opulence. Elagabalus was the first who disregarded this ancient and settled rule, and who made it the dress of men. It was for a long time obtained from China, and constituted an important item in the commerce that was carried on through Western Asia. Till the reign of Justinian, the silk-worms which feed on the white mulberry-tree were confined to China; those of the pine, of the oak, and the ash were common in the forests of both Asia and Europe, but their culture was generally neglected except in the little island of Ceos near to the coast of Attica.† Virgil seems to have supposed that it was a soft wool that was

* Tacit. Annal. lib. ii. c. 33. † Gibbon, iii. p. 33. Ed. N. Y. 1829.

combed from the leaves of trees—but whether produced *on* the leaves as a vegetable substance, like cotton, or spun by insects, and left there either in threads or in cocoons, it is impossible now to determine:

Velleraque ut foliis depectent tenuia Seres? Geor. ii. 21.

The common opinion is, that he regarded it as a vegetable production. The opinion of Servius, however, is that it was the production of insects. *Apud Indos et Seres sunt quidam in arboribus, vermes et bombyces appellantur, qui in aranearum morem tenuissima fila deducunt, unde est Sericum.** The Jews affirm that silk was known in the time of Abraham, and that it constituted a part of the wealth of that patriarch. In *Bereschit Rabbah,* parascha. xl., it is said, "It happened when Abraham went down to Egypt, that the Egyptians saw him. But where was Sarah? She was secreted in a box. But when he came to the receipt of custom, they said to him, Pay tribute. He answered, I will pay tribute. They said to him, You carry garments. He answered, I will give you of my garments. They said to him, You carry gold. He answered, I will pay it of my gold. They said to him, You carry *raw silk*—טִעִין—he answered, I will pay it of the silk. They said, You carry pearls; he answered, I will pay it of the pearls. They said, This cannot be done; but open and show to us what you have in your box. But when he opened the box the whole land of Egypt was illuminated!" As a specimen of trifling, this is remarkable. As a tradition, it may have possibly a slight value.† Silk was conveyed to Europe by caravans. An article so valuable and so light was capable of defraying the expenses of a land carriage; and caravans traversed the whole latitude of Asia with it. This journey, in the time of Justinian, occupied about two hundred

* Ugolin. Thesaur. Sacra. Ant. xii. 878. † Ibid. tom. xiii. 184, 185.

and forty-three days from the Chinese Ocean to the sea-coast of Syria; but the traffic was conducted in substantially the same way from a much earlier period. *Tyre* was the natural seaport of this silk commerce, and the silk, after being coloured at Tyre, and greatly enhanced in value, was then transmitted to Europe.*

Ivory, though a heavy article, also constituted a part of the commerce with the East. Thus Virgil says,

India mittit *ebur*. Georg. i. 57. Comp. Ezek. xxvii. 6, 15.

We shall refer to this again when we come to consider the commerce of Tyre.

We have said that the country which we are describing was favourably situated for commerce. It is so still. And had the government of that land been like our own; had the iron yoke of despotism never been laid on those countries; had the steamboat been first launched on the Euphrates, the Nile, and the Red Sea, instead of the Hudson, the Mississippi, and the great lakes of America; and had the iron road been first laid down there, no one can estimate the wealth and power of those regions now. Babylon was in the direct line from India to the countries of Europe. It commanded the fertile regions of Armenia, and the countries adjacent to the Caspian Sea, and had a direct communication with the Indian Ocean. Tyre commanded the Mediterranean, and was the natural harbour for the traffic of the East, as it was borne up the Euphrates and across the desert through Palmyra to the West. Petra at one time, when that commerce passed through Arabia, rose to splendour and affluence from the same cause, and had similar advantages. The steamboat, and the railroad, now, under a different

* See Gibbon, vol. iii. 33–36; Vincent on the Commerce and Navigation of the Ancients, and the authorities referred to in Robertson's India, note 24.

government, would regenerate that whole region, and renew the beauties of the Eden that was once planted there.

A few remarks on the places that were in fact most distinguished for commerce in Western Asia, will prepare the way for the contemplation of the changes which have since occurred there, and the causes of those changes.

Beginning at the East, Babylon is the first city that attracts attention. We shall not describe its extent, its walls, its towers, its brazen gates, its gardens. It is only as a place of commerce that we are now concerned with it. It was in a most fertile region—at least it was so once. "Of all countries," says Herodotus, and this was after he had visited Egypt, "of all countries which I have visited, this is by far the most fruitful in corn." (i. 193.) It was early the seat of extended manufactures, and of commerce. Tapestries, embroidered with figures of griffins, and other monsters of Eastern imagination, were articles of export. Carpets, which the luxury of all Asiatic nations has always made necessary, were wrought there of the finest material and workmanship, and formed an extensive article of exportation. The tomb of Cyrus at Pasargada was adorned with them. Babylonian robes, esteemed for the fineness of their texture and the beauty of their purple, were a part of the dress of the royal family of Persia. The merchandise of the East, we are told by Strabo and Herodotus, passed through Babylon, and thence to Asia Minor. And situated as Babylon was, in the centre of a fertile region, having easy access to the sea, and lying between India and Europe, it owed its greatness not less to its commercial advantages than to its conquests, and its being the capital of a great empire.* The same was true of Seleucia, which succeeded it in importance as a

* In respect to Babylon as a place of commerce, and the articles which were manufactured there, as well as the nature and extent of its exports,

city, and subsequently of Bagdad, the capital of the caliphs, built on the site of Seleucia. Tadmor or Palmyra also owed its existence wholly to the fact that it was favourably situated for securing the commerce of the East.* It was built on a beautiful oasis, and it was a convenient resting-place for the weary caravan laden with the merchandise of India. Solomon, who gave it the name Tadmor, built it in his general purpose to secure that commerce, and it rose to be one of the most beautiful cities of the Oriental world. The name which Solomon gave to it was retained until it was conquered by Alexander, who changed its title to that of Palmyra—the city of palm-trees. "This cultivated spot," says Gibbon, "rose on the barren desert like an island out of the ocean. The air was pure, and the soil, watered as it was by springs, was capable of high cultivation. A place of such singular advantages, situated between the Gulf of Persia and the Mediterranean, was soon frequented by the caravans which conveyed to the nations of Europe the rich productions of the East. It rose to an independent and opulent city, and connecting the Roman and Parthian monarchies by the mutual benefits of commerce, was suffered to observe an honourable neutrality, till at length, after the victories of Trajan, the little republic sunk into the bosom of Rome, and flourished more than a hundred and fifty years in the subordinate, though honourable rank of a colony. It was during that peaceful period that the Palmy-

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we need do no more here than to refer the reader to a learned and very satisfactory article by F. M. Hubbard, in the Biblical Repository, vol. vii. pp. 364–390. A careful perusal of that article would prepare the way better to appreciate the remarks which we propose to make in another part of this article on the present state of Babylon as a place of commerce.

* It was situated, according to Pliny, (Nat. Hist. v. 21,) five hundred and thirty-seven miles from Seleucia, and two hundred and three from the nearest coast of Syria. According to Dr. Robertson, however, the distance from Palmyra to the Euphrates was eighty-five miles, and from the Mediterranean was one hundred and seventeen. Disquisition on India, p. 22.

renians constructed those temples, palaces, and porticoes of Grecian architecture, whose ruins, scattered over an extent of many miles, have excited so much the curiosity of travellers."*—The reader of history will at once remember that this city was the residence of the celebrated Queen Zenobia, who so long resisted the arms of Aurelian, and who evinced so much skill in government and so much power in her armies, as for a long time to turn back the tide of war that was sweeping every thing before it. Here, too, protected by her, yet finally betrayed by her, Longinus lived, and was condemned, by the fierce and unlettered conqueror Aurelian, to death.†

That the city so celebrated as Palmyra was the ancient Tadmor built by Solomon, there can be no doubt. The erection of such a city, so remote from Palestine, and for the purposes of commerce, is one of the most remarkable events in Jewish history, and is a striking illustration of the advantages which it was supposed would result from securing the commerce of the East. (2 Chron. viii. 4.) Major Rennel, in his work on the "Comparative Geography of Western Asia," has entered into an elaborate investigation in order to determine the geographical site of Palmyra. According to him, it is in N. lat. 34° 24′, and E. lon. 38° 20′, being 90 geographical miles to the north of the Euphrates, and 109 miles E. by N. from Baalbec. It is situated on a small oasis in the midst of a vast desert of sand, where there are no other than Arabian footsteps. The spot where Palmyra stands enjoys the advantage of a good supply of wholesome water. Its site is not, however, to be understood as quite open to the desert in every direction. To the north and northwest there are hills, through which a narrow valley about two miles in length leads to the city. On each side

* Decline and Fall, i. 173. † Ibid. i. 173, 174.

of this valley occur what seem to have been the sepulchres of the ancient inhabitants. They are marked by square towers, and are found to contain mummies like the tombs of Egypt. The site on which the city stands is slightly elevated above the surrounding desert for a compass of about ten miles; which the Arabs believe to coincide with the extent of the ancient city, as they find ancient remains wherever they dig for that purpose.

Palmyra had no natural advantages as a city except what it derived from commerce. It had no self-sustaining power. It was wholly dependent on the traffic that was carried on between Asia and Europe. Yet it was not merely *a thoroughfare*, or *a resting-place;* it became an emporium—a city of merchants. The caravans of the East were undoubtedly directed to Tyre; and Hiram, the Prince of Tyre, might easily persuade Solomon that great advantages would accrue to him if there were a fortified city on his frontier for the protection of his own kingdom, and for the safeguard of the caravans across the desert.—Palmyra soon became a place of merchandise, and the merchants there became the factors for the Oriental trade. They probably bought of the caravans from India, and sold to the Romans, and under this trade it rose to be one of the most beautiful cities of the world.—It is not needful to attempt further to specify its commerce. Producing nothing itself, its commerce partook wholly of that which has been already described, and it was enriched by that alone.—It is remarkable that it is so seldom referred to in the Scriptures. There are no denunciations of its pride and splendour, as of Petra, and Babylon, and Tyre; no prediction of its certain and final overthrow, as there was of theirs.*

Damascus, too, rose in part by the same commerce; and,

* For a description of Palmyra, see the Pictorial Bible on 2 Chron. viii.

though distinguished by its own manufactures above most of the cities of the East, no small part of its ancient opulence was derived from its situation, and from the fact that it shared in that vast merchandise that was borne across the deserts and plains of Western Asia to contribute to the luxury and splendour of Europe.

Another important city that has, perhaps, interested the reader of modern travels more than any other, is Petra, or Sela. A general description of the site and present appearance of this celebrated city may be seen, by referring to the Biblical Repository, vol. iii. pp. 278–287, 422–431, and vol. ix. 431–457. All that our purpose requires is, that we should consider its advantages as a place of commerce, and show that it owed its splendour and power to the fact that the commerce of the East at one time centered there. Petra was situated advantageously between Gaza—at one time the mart of commerce, after the destruction of Tyre—on the west, the Persian Gulf on the east, and Palmyra on the north. Thus Pliny (vi. 28) says, *Nabatæi oppidum incolunt Petram nomine in convalle, paulo minus II Mill. pass. amplitudinis circumdatum montibus inaccessis, amne interfluente; abest a Gaza oppido litoris nostri DC Mill. a sinu Persico CXXXV Mill. Huc convenit utrumque bivium, eorum qui Syriæ Palmyram petiere et eorum qui ab Gaza venerunt.** The situation of Petra as advantageous for commerce, is thus described by Dr. Vincent: "Petra is the capital of Edom or Seir, the Idumea or Arabia Petræa of the Greeks, the Nabatea, considered by geographers, historians, and poets, as the source of all the precious commodities of the East. The caravans, in all ages, from Minca in the interior of Arabia, and from Gerrha on the Gulf of Persia, from Hadramant on the ocean, and some even from Sabea or Yemen, appear to have pointed

* See Reland's Palestine, on the word *Petra*.

to Petra as a common centre; and from Petra the trade seems to have again branched out in every direction to Egypt, Palestine, and Syria, through Arsinoe, Gaza, Tyre, Jerusalem, Damascus, and a variety of subordinate routes that all terminated on the Mediterranean. There is every proof that is requisite to show that the Tyrians and Sidonians were the first merchants who introduced the produce of India to all the nations which encircled the Mediterranean; so is there the strongest evidence to prove that the Tyrians obtained all their commodities from Arabia. But if Arabia was the centre of this commerce, Petra was the point to which all the Arabians traded from the three sides of their vast peninsula."*

In itself, Petra had no commercial advantages. It was remote from any seaport; it had no large river near; it had no internal resources. It was merely from its being a carrying-place, or a thoroughfare, that it derived all its importance. "When caravans came across Arabia from the Persian Gulf, it was at Edom or Idumea that they first touched on the civilized world. A depôt was thus naturally formed there of the commodities in which they traded. This traffic raised Idumea, and its capital, Petra, to a high pitch of wealth and importance."† As the commerce which centered in Petra, however, was substantially the same with that which was conveyed through Babylon and Palmyra, and which we have already described, it is not necessary to go further into detail. It was *India* that made Petra what it was; and, like Palmyra and Tyre, it rose to splendour because the commerce of the East at one time centered there; and, like them, when that commerce received a new direction, it lost its importance, and fell to rise no more.

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* Commerce of the Ancients, vol. xi. p. 263, as quoted by Keith, p. 140.

† Encyclopedia of Geography, p. 16.

The natural seaport of Western Asia, and the centre of the commerce of the East, was Tyre, or rather, perhaps, the ports of Phenicia—for Tyre was but one of them. Phenicia early grasped this commerce, and retained it until the rise of Alexandria. Sidon first rose to opulence; and then Tyre, her "daughter," better situated for commerce, soon eclipsed her glory, and became the mart of the world. We must not detail its history, or speak of its splendour. Volney says, "It was the theatre of an immense commerce and navigation, the nursery of art and science, and the city of perhaps the most industrious and active people ever known." Travels, ii. 210. We need scarcely speak of the voyages and discoveries of the Phenicians. They had no needle to guide them on the deep; but they were compelled to creep along the shore, or if they ventured abroad, they did it at their peril. Yet the influence of Phenicia was felt afar on the literature and prosperity of nations. From her, Cadmus carried letters to Greece; and far in the West, colonies were founded that spake her language and that imitated her commercial enterprise. Carthage was a colony of hers; Carthage, that resisted the legions that conquered the world—that sent her Hannibal across the Alps to thunder at the gates of the eternal city; Carthage, that built fleets almost as fast as winds, and storms, and Roman power could destroy them. The Phenician fleets paused not here. They passed through the Straits of Hercules, now Gibraltar, and attempted to sail round the continent of Africa. Far down its coast they stretched their way, without chart or compass, until increasing difficulties and dangers compelled them to return. Not so, however, if we may credit the unbroken voice of antiquity, was it with another effort of the Phenicians to encompass Africa on the east. Herodotus (iv. 42, 43) says of Necho II., King of Egypt, that he fitted out a fleet of triremes in the Red Sea, and having engaged some expert

Phenician pilots and navigators, he sent them on a voyage of discovery along the coasts of Africa. "They were ordered to start from the Arabian Gulf, and come round through the Pillars of Hercules into the North Sea—the Mediterranean—and so return to Egypt. Sailing, therefore, down the gulf, they passed into the Southern Ocean; and when autumn arrived they laid up their ships, and sowed the land. Here they remained till harvest-time; and, having reaped the corn, they continued the voyage. In this manner they occupied two years; and the third having brought them by the Pillars of Hercules to Egypt, they related, what to me appears incredible, however others may be disposed to believe it, that they had the sun on their right hand, and by these means was the form of Africa first known." The fact mentioned by Herodotus, and which appeared so remarkable to him, "that they had the sun on their right hand," is one of those circumstances, explained by time, which go to demonstrate the authenticity of a narrative—circumstances with which both sacred and profane history abound. *We* know that if they passed the Cape of Good Hope, the sun, when rising, must have been on their right hand. This same voyage, if we may credit ancient history, was performed by other descendants of the Phenicians. Pliny states (lib. ii. 67, v. 1) that "Hanna, a Carthaginian, circumnavigated the continent of Africa, from Gades to the extremity of the Arabian Gulf, and wrote all the details of the voyage, which was undertaken at the period when Carthage was most flourishing; and that he founded several towns on the coast."* If this be so, then it follows that the Cape of Good Hope was passed more than 2000 years before it was discovered by Bartholomew Diaz, in 1487. These were voyages of curiosity; and they made no percepti-

* A brief but satisfactory account of the ancient voyages around Africa, and to different parts of it, may be seen in the Encyclopedia of Geography, vol. i. p. 18–30.

ble change in the commerce of the world. Still they show the adventurous character of the Phenician mariners. It excites our wonder that without compass or chart such a voyage should have been made. We may add here, as an interesting fact, that Cadiz in Spain was one of the colonies of Tyre; and from this country an expedition went out which discovered the New World.

The great importance of Tyre as a place of trade, and the prominence which the mention of its commerce has in the Scriptures, as well as the remarkable facts which have occurred to annihilate that commerce forever, and to fulfil the prophecies respecting it, require a somewhat more extended notice than we have given to other places.

Of all ancient cities, Tyre was probably the most favourably situated for navigation. No port could be more favourable for forming a navy,—situated as it was in the vicinity of Lebanon, and having the forests of Senir and Bashan also accessible. Bashan was celebrated for its oaks, (Isa. ii. 13; Zech. x. 1, 2; Ezek. xxvii. 6,) and Lebanon could furnish a great quantity of timber, not only to be exported as an article of commerce, but to be used in the construction of ships. Ancient vessels were often made of fir; cedar supplied masts; while oak was used for those long powerful oars which were the chief instruments of navigation. "They have made all thy ship-boards of fir-trees of Senir; they have taken cedars from Lebanon to make masts for thee; of oaks of Bashan have they made thine oars." Ezek. xxvii. 5, 6. Tyre was adjacent also to fruitful countries. It was the natural *outlet* of Judea, the only port on its coast of much importance. But its chief distinction arose from the fact that it was the port to which naturally tended the rich productions of India; and when this commerce was diverted or ceased, it lost its importance, and sunk into decay. For a long time it was the place through which that traffic passed on its way to Europe; and

the rich commodities that were brought by the way of Babylon, Palmyra, and Damascus, here found their centre.

Tyre, at one time, possessed the best harbour on the coast of the Mediterranean; and it was this fact which gave it so much importance. The change which it has since undergone in this respect, as I shall show in another part of this article, is one of the most remarkable circumstances in history, and demonstrates that the prophecies *must* continue to be fulfilled. Tyre was at first built on the coast or main land, and is commonly known by the name of *Palæ-Tyrus*, (*Παλαίτυρος*,) or ancient Tyre, to distinguish it from insular Tyre, subsequently built on the island. There is abundant evidence that the former was first built; though it is probable that the island was early occupied as a place of anchorage. Insular Tyre was built on an island or *rock* that was about three quarters of a mile from the coast. The passage from the coast to the island was probably in boats only, until the time of Alexander; who, in order to reduce the city, by a mole two hundred feet in width joined it to the main land. This was built mainly of the rubbish and stones of the old city, and became a permanent embankment or breakwater; and thus, it is probable, added much to the natural advantages of the harbour. Alexander was occupied eight months in reducing the insular city; and it became a subject of contention among his followers after his death. That the harbour of Tyre had uncommon advantages, is not only demonstrated by the unbroken current of testimony, but by the fact that it so long maintained the dominion of the sea, and eclipsed every rival.

We have in the Scriptures a more full account of the traffic of Tyre than of any other ancient city; and it will throw light on our subject to consider more minutely the articles of its commerce.

The foundation of the prosperity of Tyre was laid, in part,

in its vicinity to valuable materials for ship-building. "They have made all thy ship-boards of fir-trees of Senir." Ezek. xxvii. 5. Senir (שְׂנִיר) is usually supposed to be the same as *Sirion*—שִׂרְיוֹן, the Phenician name of Hermon. Cant. iv. 8; 1 Chron. v. 23. According to Abulfeda, it denotes a ridge of mountains near Damascus. In regard to the word *fir*, (בְּרוֹשׁ,) it is not easy to determine precisely the sense in which it is used in the Scriptures. It is probably, however, the same as *cypress;* and constituted, along with the cedar, the glory of Lebanon. It was employed for the floors and ceilings of the temple, (1 Kings v. 22, 24,) and also for the sheathings and decks of ships. It was used for spears, (Nah. ii. 4,) and for musical instruments, (2 Sam. vi. 5.) Probably the word בְּרוֹשׁ was not confined to one species of timber, but was a general name denoting several kindred trees, as is the word fir or pine among us. The cedars of Lebanon were used for masts. Ezek. xxvii. 5. The LXX. have understood the *cypress* as the tree intended. The word אֶרֶז commonly denotes the cedar of Lebanon. From the account in the Scripture it would seem that this tree was uncommonly tall, (Isa. ii. 13; xxxvii. 24,) and wide-spreading, (Ezek. xxxi. 3.) The cedar of Lebanon was very large, but at some period of its growth it was undoubtedly well fitted for masts. The oak of Bashan was also used for oars. Ezek. xxxvii. 5. Much of the ancient navigation was conducted by oars. Ignorant, to a great extent, of the art of navigation; not knowing how to take advantage of the winds, and often drifting along where they had no charts, and no knowledge of the dangers which they would encounter, they were frequently obliged to make use of oars.

Two things that with us would seem to be articles of luxury and needless splendour, are mentioned in the navigation of the Tyrians. The first is, that they made use of

"fine linen with broidered work from Egypt" for their sails. Ezek. xxvii. 7. That finely-wrought linen was employed for this purpose occasionally, may not seem improbable, when the magnificent appearance of the barge of Cleopatra is recollected. It must have been, however, rather for show than for use. The other item in the decoration of their ships (Ezek. xxvii. 6) is, that "the company of the Ashurites have made thy benches of ivory, brought out of the isles of Chittim." There has been much difficulty in understanding who are meant here by the Ashurites, or what is the exact meaning of the phrase. The word rendered "company" (בַּת) usually means a *daughter;* and why it has been translated "company," it is difficult to see. The word rendered "Ashurites" (אַשֻּׁרִים) is from אֲשׁוּר, *a step, going;* and is probably here synonymous with תְּאַשּׁוּר, meaning *sherbin*—a species of cedar that grew on Mount Lebanon. Using the word בַּת in its common signification, the passage may mean, according to Gesenius, "thy benches they made of ivory, (שֵׁן,) the daughter of Sherbin cedars;" that is, they *inlaid* the cedar of the benches with ivory; they ornamented the seats of the rowers with ivory—a fact which is by no means improbable, though it seems incredible that they should make the benches wholly of ivory. Jarchi proposes to arrive at the same interpretation by reading בַּת־אַשּׁוּרִים as one word; and then it would mean, "with cedars;" that is, "they made thy benches ivory with cedars brought from the land of Chittim." Chittim is a name of large extent, like the word Levant, and is applied to the cities and coasts of the Mediterranean, without denoting any particular part. Josephus makes it Cyprus; the first of Maccabees applies it to Macedonia; the Vulgate to Italy; Bochart makes it the same with the islands around it; Jerome ascribes it to the islands of the Ionian and Ægean Seas. Any of these places may be

understood as included in the word "Chittim;" and as Tyre traded with them all, there can be no difficulty in understanding that either the ivory or the box that was used, was brought from them. Pictorial Bible on Ezek. xxvii. 6.

The articles of commerce mentioned by Ezekiel, in which Tyre traded, together with the countries with which its traffic was conducted, are the following:

1. "Blue and purple from the isles of Elishah." Ezek. xxvii. 7. *Elisha* אֱלִישָׁה was one of the sons of Javan, (Gen. x. 4,) and settled a part of Greece. The word here denotes a region situated on the Mediterranean, most probably *Elis*, or *Hellas*—a part of the Peloponnesus. In the Samaritan it is written אלישׁ. "It seems remarkable that the Tyrians, who were so celebrated for their own purple, should have imported the article from Elisha. But the purple of Laconia was the finest dye next to the Tyrian; and the purple cloth of that province was possibly employed because it was cheaper than that of Tyre, which was reserved for the use of kings." Vincent. That this purple of Laconia was an article of luxury, is apparent from Horace:

> Nec Laconicas mihi
> Trahunt honestæ purpuras clientæ.
>
> Odes, II. xviii. 7.

The blue and purple referred to in Ezekiel seem to have been used for awnings and coverings. It will be remembered that the famous galley in which Cleopatra went to meet Anthony, had an awning made with cloth of gold. According to the description of Ezekiel, the appearance of the Tyrian vessels, whether in the harbour or at sea, must have been exceedingly magnificent.

2. The inhabitants of Zidon and Arvad traded with Tyre. Ezek. xxvii. 8. "The inhabitants of Zidon and Arvad were thy mariners." This passage proves that while the Tyrians were devoted to commerce, the Sidonians furnished them with

mariners. Arvad or Aradus was the name of a Phenician city upon an island of the same name, not far from the coast, founded, according to Strabo, (xvi. 2, §§ 13, 14,) by Sidonian deserters. Its name now is *Ruad,* and the island is about two hundred paces from the continent. Compare Gen. x. 17. Among the places which are mentioned as trading with Tyre, besides the above, were Gebal, Persia, Lud, Tarshish, Javan, Tubal, and Meshech, Togarmah, Dedan, Syria, Judah, Damascus, Dan, Arabia, Sheba, and Raamah, Haran, Canneh, Eden, Asshur, and Chilmad. Ezek. xxvii. 9–25. The whole object of the enumeration of these places is, to show the countries to which Tyre traded; that is, to nearly all the known parts of the world. Most of these places are well known; and little would be contributed to the design of this article, were we to designate the others. A remark or two is all that is necessary. Tarshish here is probably the same as Tartessus, in Spain; but we shall advert to it again when we speak of the commerce of the Jews. Javan is used to denote Greece in general, perhaps Ionia in particular. Tubal and Meshech probably denote countries situated near the Black and Caspian Seas. Dedan is supposed to have been on the southern coast of Arabia; or, as Michaelis thinks, it may have been an island, or commercial town in the Persian Gulf, established by the Tyrians to secure the trade of the Indies.

3. In regard to the articles of commerce in which the Tyrians were engaged, much light may be derived from the chapter in Ezekiel above referred to. Silver, iron, tin, and lead were brought from Tarshish.—From Javan, Tubal, and Meshech, they obtained "the persons of men—*i. e.* slaves—and vessels of brass." Tubal and Mesech are supposed to be Caucasian regions, and slaves from thence have always been in the highest repute in the countries which now constitute the Turkish Empire. The inhabitants have always been distinguished for personal comeliness. The rich Turks and

Persians have always filled their harems with female slaves from Georgia and Circassia. The passage before us proves that when Tyre was at the height of its splendour, this kind of traffic was common.—Horses and horsemen from Togarmah are mentioned. Formerly, the country of Armenia—supposed to be the same as Togarmah—was celebrated for producing horses for the Kings of Persia; and in later times, the people have paid their tribute in horses.—Ivory and ebony are mentioned as obtained from Dedan. If Dedan here means a part of the country adjacent to the Persian Gulf, then these articles were probably obtained from India. That ebony is intended by the word הַבָּנִים, seems to be indubitable. The Hebrew word has passed into the ἔβενος of the Greeks, the *ebenum* of the Latins, and our *ebony*. It occurs only in the plural, probably, according to Gesenius, because the wood was obtained only in planks, or split into pieces for exportation. Ebony is the heart-wood of a tree called, in botanical language, *diospyros ebenum*, or the ebony-tree—a native of India. Its great hardness made it an article of value.—"Emeralds, purple, broidered work, fine linen, coral, and agate" are mentioned as obtained from Syria. Probably they were brought by land from the Gulf of Persia, through Syria. It is not known that they are productions of this country; but they are procured in abundance in India. The word rendered "coral," כַּדְכֹּד, more probably means a *ruby*. It is enumerated among precious stones, and was undoubtedly one of them.—"Wheat, honey, oil, and balm" are enumerated as articles obtained from Judah. These are well-known productions of ancient Palestine; and Tyre derived no small part of its importance from its vicinity to this rich agricultural region.—"Wine of Helbon and white wool" are mentioned as obtained from Damascus. Wool was procured in the fleece, and dyed and manufactured at Tyre. The wine of Helbon—

יֵין חֶלְבּוֹן—was celebrated in ancient times. Helbon was a Syrian city—the *Χαλυβών* of the Greeks. The table of the Persian kings was supplied with this wine, and they drank no other. Strabo xv., p. 1068. The city was famous in Arabian history in the Middle Ages, under the name of *Haleb*. It is now Aleppo. See Bochart's Hieroz., i. 543.—Bright iron, cassia, and calamus" are mentioned as obtained from Dan and Javan. Cassia and calamus are supposed, by Dr. Vincent, to have been undoubted productions of India; and this passage is regarded by him as an important historical proof that the intercourse with India was carried on through Arabia. Cassia—קִדָּה—was a species of aromatic bark resembling cinnamon, but less fragrant and less valuable. Like cinnamon, it was obtained from India. Calamus—קָנֶה—was a sweet cane, or an aromatic reed, growing in marshes—the *κάννα*, *κάννη*, or *κάνη* of the Greeks. It was used as an article of perfume, and the Hebrews employed it in public worship. According to Pliny, (xii. 22,) it grew in Arabia, Syria, and India; according to Theophrastus, (Hist. Plant. ix. 7,) it grew in the vales of Lebanon.—"Precious clothes for chariots" are mentioned as procured from Dedan. Dedan here referred to was probably in Arabia. But this verse is very obscure. The word rendered "chariots" may mean "*riding;*" and the "clothes," or garments, may have been for horsemen, for chariots or for charioteers. Whether they were manufactured in Dedan or not, it is impossible now to determine.—"Lambs, rams, and goats" are mentioned as procured from Arabia.—"Spices, precious stones, and gold" are mentioned as procured from Sheba and Raamah; and "blue clothes, and broidered work," from Haran, Cannah, Eden, &c.

This enumeration shows that a large part of the commerce of Tyre was in articles of luxury; though it was the grand mart for all the trade of the Eastern and Western world.

In the consideration of this subject, it is natural to inquire to what extent the Jews embarked in the commercial enterprises of ancient times. With a somewhat extended sea-coast, and such a location that some part of the traffic between India and Europe must of necessity pass through their territory, it was to be expected, perhaps, that they would seek to share in the immense profits which had made Tyre so splendid an emporium. Yet the idea of engaging in foreign commerce seems never to have occurred to them until the time of Solomon; and the plan was never extensively prosecuted after his reign. They were essentially an agricultural people. Till the time of David, they were extensively occupied in wars, and had little leisure for more peaceful employments. They shrunk from all communication with foreign nations—even from that temporary intercourse which was needful in commercial pursuits. They were a peculiar people—designed to have within themselves all that was necessary for their welfare, and intended to be kept distinct from all the nations of the earth. Indeed, the commercial enterprises of Solomon were a decided departure from the spirit of the national institutions. They were a part of that system of luxury, and splendour, and extravagance in which, unhappily, he indulged; and which was so much the object of the divine displeasure.

The accounts of the Scriptures respecting the commerce of Solomon are brief; and perhaps no other part of the Bible has given rise to so many speculations. 1 Kings ix. 26–28; 2 Chron. ix. 21. The amount of the statement is, that the port of Ezion-geber was selected; that a traffic was carried on with Ophir and with Tarshish, consisting in gold, silver, ivory, apes, and peacocks.

1. The port selected was Ezion-geber. This was a city of Arabia Deserta, on the Elanitic Gulf of the Red Sea. It was selected by Solomon with a view to his securing the India trade, and as a part of the enterprise for which he had built

Tadmor. The idea seems to have occurred to him, that by passing to the sea, and thence departing by vessels, it would be easier to reach the East than by overland journeys through Babylon and Persia. According to this plan, it was necessary to pass through Petra; and probably Petra derived some of its importance from this enterprise. There is now, at the head of the Red Sea, a castle or fortress, called the fortress of Akaba, which is the usual stopping-place for pilgrims on their way to Mecca; though it is entirely undistinguished as a place of commerce. "In the region of Akaba," says Rüppell, who visited it in 1822, "there is not a single boat or water-craft of any kind; the Arabs in fishing use only rafts made of the trunks of palm-trees tied together." It could never have been a very advantageous place for commerce, and seems early to have been abandoned. Its selection was only a part of that great experiment, pursued for ages, to devise the best means of securing the rich commerce of the East. The articles which were brought by vessels to Ezion-geber, or Akaba as it is now called, were conveyed by caravans through the long valley now known as the El Ghor or the El Araba, and which is a continuance of the valley of the Jordan, and thence to Hebron and Jerusalem.*

2. A more important, and much more difficult question is: Where was the Ophir situated to which the vessels of Solomon traded? Few inquiries have been more perplexing, and more unsatisfactory than this.† The *places* where Ophir has been sought are the following:

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* See the Travels of Burckhardt, who was the first among the moderns to discover this valley.

† Those who may be disposed to read what has been written on the subject, may consult the following dissertations in Ugolin: Thesaur. Ant. Sac. vii. pp. 276–419; Dan. Huetti Commentarium de navigatione Salomonis; Martini Lipenii Dissertatio de navigatione Salomonis; and Johannis Christophori Wichmanshausen Dissertatio de navigatione Ophiritica.

(1.) Arabia, particularly the southwestern part, or the country now called Yemen. This was the opinion of Prideaux, and many others. To this opinion, the objection so often urged is, in our view, unanswerable. It is incredible that *a fleet* should be fitted out with so much care and expense to convey productions by water which could have been conveyed in a very few days, and with much less risk and expense by land. The whole account in the Scriptures, indicates that the ships were fitted out for a *distant* voyage. Indeed, it is expressly stated that the voyage lasted three years.

(2.) The more common opinion is, that the Ophir of the Scriptures was Eastern Africa. This was the opinion of Bruce, and on his map it is located a little south of Abyssinia. This opinion has also been defended by *Huet*. In support of this, he adduces seven arguments, which are drawn from the name Ophir, (from which he supposes Africa to be derived;) from the fact that Eastern Africa was a region which produced gold in abundance, and indeed all the articles enumerated in the account of the commerce of Solomon; from the fact that various inscriptions are found in Sofala, on the eastern coast of Africa, which he supposes to have recorded the voyages made by the ships of Solomon; from the facility of the navigation to that place, &c. This opinion was first broached, it is believed, by the friar John don Sanctos, who resided in Sofala. It is but justice to let the friar speak for himself. "Near to Massapa is a great hill, called *Fura*—supposed to have derived its name from Ophir—whence may be discerned a great part of the kingdom of Monamotapa; for which cause he (the king) will not suffer the Portugals to go thither, that they should not covet his great country and hidden mines. On the top of that hill are yet standing pieces of old walls and ancient ruins of lime and stone, which testify that there have been strong buildings; a thing not seen in all

Caffraria; for even the king's houses are of wood, daubed with clay, and covered with straw. The natives, and especially the Moors, have a tradition from their ancestors, that those houses belonged to the Queen of Saba, who carried much gold thence down the Cuama to the sea, and so along the coast of Ethiopia to the Red Sea. Others say that these ruins were Solomon's factory, and that this Fura, or Afura, is no other than Ophir, the name not being much altered in so long a time. This is certain, that round about that hill, there is much fine gold. The navigation might in those times have been longer, for want of so good ships or pilots as now are to be had, and by reason of much time spent in trucking with the Cafares, as even in this time the merchants often spend a year or more in that business, although the Cafares be grown more covetous of our wares, and the mines be better known. Much time is also spent in the voyage by the rivers, and by that sea, which hath differing monsoons, and can be sailed but by two winds, which blow six months from the east, and as many from the west. Solomon's fleet had, besides those mentioned, this let, that the Red Sea is not safely navigable but by day, by reason of many isles and shoals; likewise it was necessary to put into harbours for fresh water and provisions, and to take in new pilots and mariners, and to make reparation; which considered, with their creeping by the shore for the want of compass and experience in those seas, and their Sabbath rests, and their truck with the Cafares, might extend their whole voyage, in going, staying, and returning, to three years. Further, the ivory, apes, gems, and precious woods, (which grew in the wild places of Tebe within Sofala,) whence they make *almaidias*, or canoes, twenty yards long of one timber, and much fine black wood grows in the coast, and is carried thence to India and Portugal; all these may make the matter probable. As for peacocks, I saw none there, but there must needs be some within land; for I have

seen some Cafares wear their plumes on their heads. As there is store of fine gold, so also is there fine silver in Chicona, where there are rich mines." These circumstances are so striking, and so full of probability, and the difficulties respecting any other place have been so great, as to appear conclusive to many in regard to the situation of Ophir; and accordingly this opinion has been embraced by D'Anville, Huet, Montesquieu, Bruce, and Robertson; and even Dr. Vincent allows that Ophir must there be sought for by those who object to Arabia.

(3.) Others have supposed that the Ophir of Solomon was in the Persian Gulf; and that the commerce extended down the Red Sea, and around Arabia to the gulf. Calmet adopted the singular theory that Ophir was in Armenia, and that the fleet of Solomon proceeded up the Persian Gulf, and thence up the Euphrates or the Tigris as far as those rivers were navigable, in order to receive the productions of Armenia. In this opinion, he is probably destined to stand alone. Nor has the opinion that the Ophir of the Scriptures was within the Persian Gulf, much to recommend it. The articles enumerated are not those which would naturally be found in the islands of that gulf, or on the adjacent shore. The gems and spices, the precious stones and aromatics of the Indies would be the productions which would naturally find their way to the countries bordering on the Persian Gulf.

(4.) India has been commonly regarded as the country where Ophir was to be found. To this opinion the large majority of authorities refer the Hebrew-Phenician voyage. But it is almost needless to say, that there has been an almost infinite number of opinions as to the part of India where Ophir was to be found; and that scarcely two persons have fixed on the same place. But the objections to India as the country of Ophir are, in my view, insuperable. The material one is the difficulty of the navigation. Those who have read

Dr. Vincent's account of the voyage of Nearchus from the river Indus to the Persian Gulf, will be satisfied that it is highly improbable that a voyage to India was undertaken and accomplished more than six hundred years before that time. Arrian denies that any voyage had ever occurred from the Red Sea to the Persian Gulf by sailing around Arabia; Eratosthenes (apud Strabonem, lib. xvi. xvii.) also denies that any vessel proceeding from the Straits of the Red Sea (Babelmandel) had ever gone more than about six hundred miles. Strabo says that before his time scarcely twenty ships had ever dared to adventure beyond the straits into the open ocean. See Huet in Ugolin, tom. vii. p. 302.

(5.) The editor of the Pictorial Bible (on 2 Chron. xx.) supposes, that no particular country is intended by the Ophir of the Scriptures; but that the term is used, like the word *Thule* in the classics, to denote some indefinite, distant region, or a certain region of the world—like the East or West Indies. In confirmation of this opinion, Tychsen, after Heeren, observes that the word *Ophir* signifies in Arabia, "the rich countries."—To us, however, it seems most probable that the country designated was on the eastern coast of Africa; and to this the opinions of most writers now converge.

3. The articles of commerce which Solomon conveyed to his dominions by his fleet were the following. (1.) Gold. How it was procured or paid for, or what constituted the articles of *export* for which Solomon received this in return, is nowhere intimated. (2.) Silver—an article which he made exceedingly abundant in Jerusalem. (3.) Ivory—also, as we have seen in speaking of the commerce of Tyre, an important article. (4.) *Apes*, קוֹפִים. What *species* of those animals was imported cannot be determined. The word קוֹף is applied to any species of the simia or monkey race. *Why* they were imported, is not known. As they were objects of curiosity, then as now, it is possible that it was a mere

matter of speculation. As Solomon gave much of his time to natural history, (1 Kings iv. 33,) it may have been with some reference to that study. (5.) *Peacocks*, תֻּכִּיִּים. It has been doubted whether peacocks are intended or *parrots*;* and it is not very material. Both are produced in Africa and in India; and both would have answered the purpose contemplated by Solomon. If the purpose was gain, they would be valuable objects of merchandise, as curiosities in the land of Palestine. If the purpose was the study of natural history, the fact is more interesting. Other kings and princes, we may suppose, would collect foreign quadrupeds and birds as objects of curiosity or wonder—to beautify a park or decorate a garden. But as we know that Solomon was devoted to study, it is not unreasonable to suppose that, while his main object was gain, he might have instructed his navigators to bring home whatever they might meet with that was unusual or rare, which would serve to enlarge the empire of science. If so, the fact shows that amid all that was splendid and luxurious in that reign, the useful was not forgotten; and that while Solomon sought to increase the works of art, he, at the same time, sought to extend the bounds of knowledge, and to diffuse an acquaintance with the works of God.

This commerce was, however, of short duration. The civil wars which succeeded the death of Solomon turned the attention of the nation away from such pursuits; and no effort appears to have been made to recover the advantages of foreign traffic until the time of Jehoshaphat—more than seventy years later. This prince formed a commercial treaty with Ahaziah, King of Israel, for the purpose of renewing the trade to Tarshish; but the fleet which they constructed at the

* See Huet, as quoted above. Compare also Bochart, Hieroz. tom. ii. p. 135, seq.

port of Ezion-geber was destroyed in a storm; and the attempt was never renewed. 2 Chron. xx. 36, 37.

It is proper, in describing the commerce of Western Asia, to notice another celebrated city that was founded to secure it; we allude to Alexandria, in Egypt. Alexander, in his pursuit of Darius, was led to the northeastern part of Persia, and he terminated his career on the Hydaspes, a branch of the Indus. Here his conquests ended; and here he wept that no other world was to be subdued. He had carried his arms over the regions that had once constituted the most powerful monarchies of the earth; and had vanquished the very kingdoms which had once poured their legions on the plains of Leuctra and Marathon. But the mind of that great man was too restless to remain satisfied with his past achievements. To consolidate this vast region into one government, required not less energy than to conquer it; and without delay the work was undertaken. The commerce of the East was an object that attracted his attention, and laid the foundation for a new plan. The passage, from the place where he then was to the ocean, had never been made but once—by Darius; and Alexander fitted out a fleet under Nearchus, to attempt the dangerous way. Alexander, with his army, moved along the shore, while Nearchus and the fleet performed the voyage. It was demonstrated that the commerce of the East, instead of being borne over land, *could* be conveyed on the ocean; and the plan was formed to convey it around Arabia, up the Red Sea, and thence to Europe. The site of Alexandria was selected to aid in this purpose. The plan of a magnificent city was formed; and it shows the forecast which planned it, that, while Tyre declined, and Babylon sunk to ruin, Alexandria, for 1800 years, continued to command the commerce of India.*

* See Arrian, Exped. Alex., and Dr. Vincent on the Commerce of the Ancients, for a full account of the voyage of Nearchus.

This commerce, too, gave importance to Venice, Genoa, and the states and cities of Italy. Venice rose from the waves because of her convenient position between Alexandria and Europe. She maintained her pre-eminence until the direction of that commerce was changed, in the revolutions which followed the discoveries of Vasco de Gama.

This detail, perhaps dry and uninteresting, has conducted us to an important general conclusion. The great prize which was so eagerly sought by ancient enterprise, was the commerce of India,—that vast indefinite region, so little known to the ancients, stretching on without known limits, from the river Indus, comprising modern Hindoostan and China,—the land of spices, and pearls, and diamonds, and gold, and silks,—the source of all that was deemed desirable to contribute to the luxury of the West. To obtain this, caravans crossed and re-crossed pathless deserts; voyages of discovery were undertaken at imminent hazard; cities rose up amid pathless sands and barren rocks, to afford a resting-place to the weary and heavy-laden traveller; and to secure this, too, in subsequent times, Columbus embarked on the bosom of the mighty deep, and prostrated himself on the earth with gratitude and praise, when he supposed that, by a new course, he had reached that land of splendour and of wealth.

We are now to contemplate Western Asia as presenting a different aspect; and to consider the changes which have occurred there, and the causes of those changes. We have seen splendid cities, whose size and wealth, as reported by ancient historians, almost exceed belief, and whose ruins now amaze the traveller, rise and flourish there as the fruit of a busy commerce; and it is natural to ask, why they have ceased to exist, and why, if they were destroyed by the calamities of war, they have not risen again from their ruins. To the commerce of the ancients they were, what London, and Havre, and Liverpool, and New York, and Philadelphia, and Pitts-

burgh, and Cincinnati, and New Orleans are to the moderns. Some of them equalled the greatest of these modern cities, in size and wealth—perhaps surpassed them in splendour, and stood as confident of permanency. There was as little prospect of their decay and ruin as there is now of the marts of commerce in Europe and America. In the height of their glory, however, when the caravan was moving toward them with the wealth of the East; when they resounded with the din of business and the cheerfulness of song; when splendid palaces were building, as the fruits of that commerce; when they were encompassing themselves with high and massive walls, and towers, and gates; and when the fleets, bearing the wealth of distant nations, were crowding around their wharves, one thing was as remarkable as it was ominous. A succession of men, clad in a humble garb, dwelling in the little territory of Judea—a country never distinguished for commerce, and cut off by its constitution from forming extended foreign relations,—a class of men without literature, or profound knowledge of international laws, were addressing these cities in language fearfully foreboding. To Tyre—that splendid commercial emporium—these foreigners said, speaking in the name of the God of cities and of nations: "I will make thee like the top of the rock. Thou shalt be a place to spread nets upon." "They shall lay thy stones, and thy timber, and thy dust, in the midst of the water. I will also scrape her dust from her. I will make thee a terror; and thou shalt be no more. Thou shalt be sought for, yet thou shalt never be found again." Ezek. xxvi. 4, 12, 14, 15, 21. To Babylon they said: "Babylon, the glory of kingdoms, the beauty of the Chaldee's excellency, shall be as when God overthrew Sodom and Gomorrah. It shall never be inhabited, neither shall it be dwelt in from generation to generation; neither shall the Arabian pitch tent there; neither shall the shepherds make their fold there. But wild beasts of the desert shall lie

there; and their houses shall be full of doleful creatures; and owls shall dwell there, and satyrs shall dance there." Isa. xiii. 20, 21. Of Mount Seir, or Petra, they said: "I will stretch out my hand against thee, and I will make thee most desolate." Ezek. xxxv. 1–4. "The pride of thine heart hath deceived thee, thou that dwellest in the clefts of the rock, whose habitation is high." Obad. iii. 8, 17, 18. "From generation to generation shall it lie waste; none shall pass through it forever and ever. And thorns shall come up in her palaces, nettles and brambles in the fortresses thereof, and it shall be a habitation of dragons, and a court for owls." Ezek. xxxv. 3; Obad. iii.; Isa. xxxiv. 10, 13. When these, and a multitude of similar predictions were uttered, there was the same human prospect of their fulfilment that there would be now, if uttered of London or Liverpool, of Havre or Paris, of Philadelphia or New York—AND NO MORE.

We need scarcely say that great changes have occurred in that whole land. To the traveller, it is now a sad and lonely part of the world. The sceptre of empire has passed away. Desolation has spread over regions once "flowing with milk and honey." The traveller passes by day over scenes of ruin; by night, he finds a damp and dismal lodging in the ruined palace of some ancient nobleman or monarch; or, more likely, lies down by his side in the tomb, and sleeps among the dead. The music that once resounded in the splendid hall, has given place to the cry of the jackal; and the gay forms that once flitted in the mazy dance, are seen there no more. Silence now reigns where once was the din of business; and the commerce of the world has found new channels; and these splendid cities have fallen never to rise again.

"Westward the star of empire takes its way;"

and westward, too, moves the star of commerce, and science, and the arts. Civilization seems "rather to have changed its

abode than to have extended its dominion." In those places where it formerly flourished most, nothing now remains but barbarism and deserts; but in lands scarce known when Babylon and Tyre were in the height of their splendour; in countries so little known as not to attract the attention of Alexander, or suggest that in the *West* he might find the world which he wished still to conquer, have arisen commercial cities that outvie all that was known in Western Asia; and in a new world, then wholly unknown, Boston, and New York, and Philadelphia, and Cincinnati, have taken the place of Sidon, and Tyre, and Babylon, and Petra, and Carthage. The circle of science and the arts seems to be *removed*, not *enlarged*. The centre of civilization is fluctuating and changing. The grove where Plato and Zeno taught, the city where Phidias lived and Demosthenes roused his countrymen to arms, have been trodden by the feet of those who spurned the elegant arts of life; but the record of the eloquence, the philosophy, and the arts of those immortal men have found their permanent abode in the West.

We have said that the man who now travels over Western Asia, travels amid ruins. In Babylon, should he perchance find the place where it stood, he would see a vast and gloomy pile, without order, or verdure, or comeliness. Around it, he would see a vast marsh, where no mark of culture appears. Such is the testimony of all who have visited that lonely region. "The abundance of the country," says Sir R. Ker Porter, "has vanished as clean away, as if the besom of destruction had swept it from north to south; the whole land, from the outskirts of Babylon to the farthest stretch of sight, lying a melancholy waste."* Palmyra, too, is a scene of ruins. "On which side soever we look," says Volney, "the

* For an extended description of the site of Babylon as it appears at present, see an article in the Biblical Repository, vol. viii. pp. 158–189.

earth is strewed with vast stones, half-burnt, with broken entablatures, mutilated friezes, disfigured reliefs, effaced sculptures, violated tombs, and altars defiled by the dust." Once ten miles in circumference, now—such is the desolation—the boundaries can scarcely be traced and determined. The thousands of Corinthian columns of white marble, erect and fallen, covering an extent of about a mile and a half, offer an appearance which travellers compare to that of a forest. "Here," says Volney, "stand groups of columns, whose symmetry is destroyed by the fall of many of them; then we see them ranged in rows of such length that, similar to rows of trees, they deceive the sight, and assume the appearance of continued walls."

The situation of Petra we need not describe. The travels of our own countryman, Stephens, have made it better known to us than any of the ruined cities of the East. It is a city of tombs, cut from the solid rock. Its busy population has gone. The living are not there; and not a solitary being is now found there, save when the wandering Bedouin, or the passing traveller spends a night among its sepulchres. Long its very site was unknown; and now that it is known, it is revealed, not to be raised to its former magnificence, but to excite the wonder of the world, that a city, once so splendid, should have become the scene of such utter desolation;—thus to confirm the words of the ancient prophets of God, and become a proof of the truth of revelation, engraved on the eternal rock. "I would," said Stephens, when speaking of these ruins, "I would that the skeptic could stand as I did among the ruins of this city, among the rocks, and there open the sacred book, and read the words of the inspired penman, written when this desolate place was one of the greatest cities in the world. I see the scoff arrested, his cheek pale, his lip quivering, and his heart quaking with fear, as the ancient city cries out to him, in a voice loud and powerful as one risen

from the dead; though he would not believe Moses and the prophets, he believes the handwriting of God himself, in the desolation and eternal ruin around him." Incidents of Travel, &c., vol. ii. p. 76.

Nor need we describe Tyre. Volney shall tell what it is. "The whole village of Tyre contains only fifty or sixty poor families, who live obscurely on the produce of their little ground, and a trifling fishery. The houses they occupy are wretched huts, ready to crumble into ruins." Bruce describes it as "a rock on which fishers dry their nets." The only merchant which Tyre could boast when Volney was there, was a solitary Greek, who could hardly gain a livelihood. In one word, that whole region is now desolate, and it lies under some evident, but mysterious malediction.

What are the causes of these changes? That there must have been some cause, is past a doubt; and the answer is of more importance than to amuse an idle hour. Great principles have been developed in these changes, and important lessons taught in regard to the mode in which the affairs of the world are administered. Why, when those cities fell, did blighting pass over a once proverbially fertile land? and why, in the lapse of ages, has it never risen to its former glory? Is it destined forever to lie waste? or, in the circling movements of civilization and prosperity, shall that land rise again and become the patron of science and the arts, while the countries on which the light of learning and the true religion now shines, sink to night?

In suggesting the causes of the changes above described, we mention, first, the discovery of the Cape of Good Hope. We have said that this cape is reported to have been passed by the ancients; but there was then no Western world known to which the commerce of the East could be borne; and having been once or twice passed, the ancient navigator seemed to be contented with his achievement. The discovery of the

magnetic needle by an obscure citizen of Amalfi in Italy, in 1302, gave a new direction to commerce. The power of the needle, the jealousy of the Italian states laboured to conceal from other nations. But it was in vain; and this important discovery "opened to man the dominion of the seas;" and to the discoverer, if he chose to profit by it, the dominion of the world.* The great object was still to secure the commerce of India. Alexandria, for 1800 years, had enjoyed that commerce undisturbed; and the plan of Alexander, in founding the city which bore his name, had made Seleucia, and Babylon, and Palmyra, and Petra, a scene of wide desolation, and, together with the thunder of his arms, changed Tyre to a barren rock. New competitors now came into the field. Man had found out the art of leaving the shore, and of going out on the broad ocean. The mariner now felt safe, whether he saw the land or not; and whether the sun shone on his pathless way, or whether he moved forward in a cloudy night. The needle pointed in one direction; and he knew the way to his home. Spain and Portugal now came into the field. Columbus launched into unknown seas, and expected to reach India by sailing to the west; and Diaz directed his course to the south and the east. The one discovered the New World, and called it INDIA;—the other reached the cape, and called it the Cape of Storms. Yet not thus did the monarch of Portugal regard it. To his sagacious view it was the point indicating *hope*—the hope of reaching a splendid prize—and he called it the "Cape of Good Hope," and again fitted out a fleet which moved on to India. The great discovery was made. A new world was revealed, rich and vast, and capable of sustaining hundreds of millions of civilized men; where cities and towns might rise that would more than equal the splendour of the East; and from whose mines gold might be carried that would

* Qui mare tenet, eum necesse est rerum potiri. Cic. ad Att.

yet enrich the East; and from whose shores, too, there might be borne the press, and the Bible, and the lessons of science, and civilization, and law, to change the aspect of the whole Oriental world. The commerce of the East was now to be borne away upon the waves. Hence those cities which once flourished by its possession, have fallen to rise no more. And this was distinctly predicted by the prophets. The discovery of the Cape of Good Hope alone would have ruined them. And *since* their downfall, causes have been at work, beyond the power of man to arrest, to render the desolation permanent. There are not on earth now, perhaps, any sites more unfavourable for commerce; and whatever changes may occur in the East, it is certain that *those* cities can never rise to their former affluence.

Petra is a city of the dead. It has not a single commercial advantage. It has no seaport; no fertile region around it; no stream on which the steamboat may glide. Nor is there any seaport near, which can ever make it an important place. It had its consequence only from the fact, that the commerce of the East was borne by caravans; nor would any thing but the destruction of ships and steamers, and the restoration of caravans, ever make Petra what it was. *Tyre*, too, is a place of ruin; nor, on the whole coast of the Mediterranean, is there a single place that would not be as commodious a haven as this once-celebrated port. Robinson says of its harbour in 1830: "It is a small circular basin, now quite filled up with sand and broken columns, leaving scarcely space for small boats to enter. The few fishing-boats belonging to the place are sheltered by some rocks to the westward of the island." Travels in Palestine and Syria, vol. i. p. 269. Shaw, who visited Tyre in 1738, says of the harbour: "I visited several creeks and inlets, in order to discover what provision there might have been formerly made for the security of their vessels. Yet, notwithstanding that Tyre was the chief maritime power

of this country, I could not discover the least token of either *cothon* or harbour, that could have been of any extraordinary capacity. The coasting ships, indeed, still find a tolerable good shelter from the northern winds, under the southern shore, but are obliged immediately to retire when the winds change to the west or south; so that there must have been some better station than this for their security and reception. In the N.N.E. part likewise of the city, we see the traces of a safe and commodious basin, lying within the walls; but which at the same time is very small, scarce forty yards in diameter. Neither could it ever have enjoyed a larger area, unless the buildings which now circumscribe it were encroachments upon its original dimensions. Yet even this port, small as it is at present, is notwithstanding so choked up with sand and rubbish, that the boats of those poor fishermen who now and then visit this once renowned emporium, can, with great difficulty only, be admitted." Travels, pp. 330, 331. Ed. fol. Oxf., 1738. Of *Babylon* it would be easy to show the same thing. The earth does not contain a more unpropitious site for a city than this; and whatever other places may flourish, Babylon is destined to be a heap of ruins.* Some other place on the Euphrates *may* rise to affluence and splendour, but Babylon has lost all its advantages. The steamboat may be launched on the Tigris and the Euphrates; the railroad may be laid across the plains and sands of Arabia—and who can tell what changes *it* may make in the affairs of men?—and Alexandria may renew its beauty and splendour. But though the steamboat and the railroad may again divert that commerce, they will not conduct it where the caravan conducted it; and the cities which owed their splendour to commerce, as it then was, have fallen to rise no more.

* I refer those who may be desirous of seeing a full proof of this to the Biblical Repository, vol. viii. pp. 158–189; Keith on the Prophecies, pp. 182–237; and Notes on Isaiah, vol. i. pp. 435, seq.

Men may account for these changes as they please. The *facts* are not to be denied. The result was foreseen and described. Men, claiming to be prophets of God, said how things would be. More than 2500 years ago, they described the scene as if they had been now on the ground, and were fellow-travellers with Volney, and were portraying what they saw. Their permanent records were not the result of natural sagacity. There were no causes then that tended to make Babylon, and Tyre, and Petra what they are, any more than there were causes which could be foreseen to produce the malaria in the neighbourhood of Rome, or to pour burning ashes and lava on Herculaneum and Pompeii; or than there are causes in existence which can be foreseen, that will make Philadelphia or London pools of water and habitations of owls. Mere political sagacity could never, in Palestine or anywhere else, have foreseen the discovery of the Cape of Good Hope, or the effects following from the use of the magnetic needle, or the changes produced by the railroad or the steamer;—nor could political sagacity have predicted the flowing in of the sands that were to block up the harbour of Tyre. The Burkes and the Cannings of the political world do not thus look into future times, and discern far on, in advancing generations, what shall be the condition—the permanent, unchanging condition—of the capitals of nations.

We have stated one cause of the remarkable changes which have occurred in the commerce of the East, and of the desolations which are now seen there. But why, it may be asked, do those desolations continue? Why do those cities lie in ruins? Why is that region, once the Paradise of the earth, now desolate? Why do not steamboats go up the Euphrates as well as the Hudson? why not swarm on the Euxine and the Caspian, as well as on Lake Erie? and why do not fleets find an anchorage, laden with the avails of commerce, along the coasts of Palestine and Asia Minor, as well as along the shores

of the Atlantic? I will state, therefore, another cause. *Liberty there is dead;* and the sceptre of despotism, paralyzing to commerce, to agriculture, and to the arts, is swayed over all that once-fertile land, and it keeps prostrate the walls of its cities, and turns its fields into desolate wastes, and represses the aspirings of human genius, and bows down the bodies and the souls of men. Liberty is essential to successful commerce. The latter cannot live without the former. It must be protected at home; and it must feel that the power of a free nation, respected by the kingdoms of the world, will be stretched out to defend it abroad. There must be *safety;* there must be *stability.* But over all those lands there is now a government weak, capricious, flexible, tyrannical;—and commerce dies, and enterprise is paralyzed. Success in any enterprise depends on *stability* in the government, and in the principles by which it is administered. In commerce, as in all things pertaining to human affairs, we must know what to expect; we must be able to calculate on something definite and certain—even when there is much that is apparently fluctuating. Even the restless tides of the ocean may be depended on, and made tributary to commerce; for we know when they rise and fall. The regular monsoons—though blowing half the year against those who would seek a particular direction—may be made tributary to commerce, though they baffled and perplexed Nearchus so much; for we know what to depend on, and we understand their laws. But if the tides and the monsoons were governed by caprice, who could confide in them? So of the passions that rage in the bosom of a capricious monarch; of a government where liberty has fled; of kingdoms that are controlled by caprice. Give us the laws of the Medes and Persians, "that change not," unreasonable though they may be, and the enterprises of men can be directed with certainty. The caravan is safe—

for it will be protected. But how can it be safe when it may be plundered to support the government, or to maintain a luxurious and effeminate court? Liberty is connected with all that is good, and great, and sure on earth; and is essential to commerce. What nations are now most distinguished for commerce? Whose sails whiten the seas, and find their way to the ends of the earth? They are those which bear the flags of England and America—mother and daughter—the freest nations on the face of the globe; nations not governed by caprice, nor yet by mobs—but by law; nations, the thunder of whose navies would be heard in the farthest part of the ocean, to protect the humblest sloop or schooner that should seek to secure a part in an honourable traffic. Every vessel that leaves our port is dependent on liberty and law at home for success; and can be sure of success only when it is certain that, when she returns, no matter how long her cruise, the same liberty, the same morals, the same laws, the same public virtue will be found, as when the receding sail disappears from the shore.

We could state another cause of the sad and long desolation of that once busy and fertile land—the land that once flowed with milk and honey. In one simple fact in *our* land, we would find that cause. *Here*, every man is secure of the avails of his labour. The ground which he cultivates is his own. The *fee-simple* to the soil makes a broad and impassable line in wealth, and virtue, and intelligence, and moral worth—in all that makes a man—between him and the tribes that roam over a savage land, or the nations that live under the caprice of a despot. Here, the harvest that is reared, the book that is made, the article of manufacture that is wrought, is *ours*. No one can seize it; no one can tell us how to dispose of it; no one can wrest it from us. It is ours, in such a sense, that the whole energy of 15,000,000 of freemen is pledged to defend it. He walks

abroad in the conscious dignity of a freeman; and though himself obscure and unknown, he may have *this* consciousness, that armies and navies, the sword of battle and the thunder of war would protect his feeblest rights against the world. Give but this consciousness to the wandering Bedouin; let this be felt on the plains of Chaldea, and along the hills and vales of Palestine, and the desert would again blossom there as the rose, and the wilderness and the solitary place would be glad. It is this consciousness of protection in *our* rights, that makes us what we are; this, that under the favour of heaven has built the cities and towns that stand so thick in our land; this, that speeds the vessel on its way across the ocean. The want of this has strewed the Oriental world with broken pillars, and crumbling walls, and prostrate temples, and this lost, our own land would soon be desolate.

The conclusions to which we have come in this article, are, that the commerce of the world is under the control of an intelligent and all-wise director of events—who presides over winds and waves, over monsoons and pathless sands; and that it is changing its place and its form in accordance with laws which may be understood, and that the past furnishes important lessons in regard to those laws; that prosperous commerce is connected with high moral character and public virtue;—that it exists only in the spirit of liberty, and of mutual confidence; and particularly, that commerce tends to equalize all nations, and to diffuse to all the blessings enjoyed by few. On board the vessels that we send from our ports there may be the elements of all that is fitted to change the face of nations. There is science, directing its way across the ocean; there is the mariner's compass, that has produced so many changes on the earth; there is the quadrant; and there may be the press; and there may be those who are imbued with the love of liberty; and there

may be the heralds of salvation, bearing that gospel to which we owe public virtue and civil liberty, to distant and barbarous climes.

We have said that the great prize sought in ancient and in modern times, has been the wealth of the Indies. In seeking that prize, the New World—more rich in its native resources, and in all that contributes to human happiness than the East—was disclosed. That moment when Columbus placed his foot on St. Salvador—supposing that he had reached the Indies—changed the destiny of commerce and of nations. With what purpose, with what heart did he come? With what feelings did he place his foot on the long-sought land? He came as a Christian. He came to give thanks to God. "No sooner did he land," says his elegant biographer—Irving—"than he threw himself upon his knees, kissed the earth, and returned thanks to God with tears of joy. His example was followed by the rest, whose hearts overflowed with the same feelings of gratitude. 'O Lord God, Eternal and Almighty,' said he, 'thou hast by thy sacred word created heaven, and earth, and sea: blessed and glorified be thy name: lauded be thy majesty, who hast deigned to grant, that by thy humble servant thy sacred name should be known, and proclaimed in this the other part of the world.'" Irving's Columbus, vol. i. p. 150. With these views *he* trod the New World; for the honour of the name of the Creator he had crossed the ocean; with a desire that the true religion should spread all over that New World, he lived and died.

Just one hundred and twenty-eight years after this, another frail bark approached the Western world. It was in the cold of December—having crossed the ocean after a long and perilous voyage. The storms of winter howled along the coast; the rivers and bays were frozen; the interminable, leafless forests spread before them. No light-house then told

them of the place of danger or of safety; no city, no town, no sweet and peaceful village invited them to a place of repose. The smoke ascended indeed on the hills—but it rose from the cabin of the wandering and barbarous savage; and the sound of welcome was not heard on the shore. They came to the bleak and barren coast of New England. Heaven-directed, they entered—not by accident—the only place where safety *could* have been found—where the everlasting mountains seemed to decline toward them, and to stretch out their arms far into the sea to embrace them. On board that vessel—the May Flower—was the germ of this great nation—of that nation whose vessels now whiten every sea, and to whom every river, and lake, and bay, and ocean of the world are open. Like Columbus, they came with hearts filled with gratitude to God—and on the rock of Plymouth, *they* erected the altar and the cross. On board that humble bark was formed the solemn compact which has since gone into all our constitutions—and which contains the elements of liberty. They came, a race of hardy, and virtuous, and holy men; they came, bearing the elements of liberty, and science, and law, and pure religion, that they might here have a home. They came with the Bible; with the love of sound learning, and of public faith and morals. Like that humble bark—with the same principles, and feelings, and views which reigned there, let our vessels—driven by the wind, or impelled by steam—visit all the world. Let them go as fit representatives of the land discovered by Columbus, and planted by the Pilgrims. Let them take the Bible and the press; let them go to scatter the blessings of religion and liberty; let the pennant at the head of the tall mast, as she is seen on the deep, be hailed as the harbinger of all that can bless the nations. Back to Western Asia and to India; to the mouths of the Ganges, the Indus, and the Euphrates; to the Red Sea and the Nile; let American vessels yet bear

the fruits, not only of our industry, but of our virtue, literature, and religion. Let them carry the principles by which all that now desolate region may be clothed with fertility; by which freedom shall visit the land of oppression; by which its cities may rise beautiful like our own, and far surpassing in moral worth and loveliness those which time has crumbled into ruins—making it again the Eden of the world.

X.

[BIBLICAL REPOSITORY, 1840.]

The Relation of Theology to Preaching.

With reference to its practical influence and value, theology may be contemplated from many points of view. We may approach the Bible under the guidance of the ordinary laws of interpreting language, and inquire what theology is as contemplated there, without reference to its observed adaptation to human nature, and to its effects in the world. We may approach it, as viewed in its effects on mankind, and ask what has been its influence, how it has been modified in the changes occurring in philosophy and in society, or how it has originated or modified those changes. We may approach it by directing our inquiries primarily into the nature of man, and prosecuting the inquiry through that medium, making mental philosophy the basis, and asking what it does to develope the powers of our nature, and to elevate us in the scale of being. Or we may contemplate it from the pulpit, and ask ourselves what is the theology which experience has shown to be best adapted to the ends of preaching, and which we can preach with a hope of success. In the first case we look at it indeed speculatively and abstractly, yet with certainty as to truth, if we study the Bible with a right spirit; in the second, we learn from its effects on the world what may be presumed to have been the theology which God did or did not intend to teach; in the third, we judge that certain forms of theology which have always come in conflict with the laws of the mind, and the principles of just philosophy, cannot be the theology which the

author of the human soul designed to reveal; and in the fourth, we place ourselves in the pulpit, and look around on society, and ask what may be preached so as to answer the ends of preaching—so that men will perceive it to be true, and so that they will be converted to God.

This is the point of view from which we propose now to contemplate theology. We wish to make the pulpit a point of observation from which to look out on the world, that we may obtain some lessons which may be of value to those who expect to occupy that position through life.

A natural arrangement of the thoughts which we wish to suggest, will be to consider the kinds of theology which *cannot* be preached, and then that which *can* be; or to show that there are certain kinds of theology which are not adapted to the pulpit, and then what kind of theology may be preached with success.

Under the first of these heads, we notice three kinds of theology which have prevailed, and which to a great extent still prevail in the world. These are briefly the following: that which, whatever beauty of sentiment or philosophy it may have, does not furnish the proper themes for the eloquence of the pulpit; that which contemplates the propagation of religion mainly by other means than preaching; and that which men are constrained to abandon in preaching.

Of the first of these kinds of theology, it may be observed, that, however it may seem to answer some of the ends of religion, it is not fitted to inspire the eloquence which we naturally expect in the pulpit; and when it is incorporated into a system designed to be preached, it lacks the highest elements of oratory which theology in its best sense contains. We refer to that form of religion which repels what are regarded as the darker and sterner features of Christianity as it has been usually received in the world. This theology is founded on the beautiful and grand in the

works of nature, or in the scenes of redemption. It finds pleasure in the contemplation of the starry heavens; of hills, and streams, and lakes; of the landscape and of the ocean; and is willing in these things to admire and praise the existence and perfections of the Creator. In the contemplation of these things, there is no reluctance to admit the existence of a God, or to dwell on his natural perfections; for in the placid beauty of a landscape, in the silvery murmuring of a rivulet, and in the opening of a rose-bud, no attribute of the Deity is revealed on which the mind even of the gay and the wicked is unwilling to dwell. This religion is found in all the departments of poetry, and in all the conceptions of mythology. It abounded most among the Greeks, a people who carried the love of the beautiful to a higher eminence than any other, and who embodied it in their unequalled works of art. Over each of the works of nature; over every element, and every event; over every tree, and flower, and breeze, and waving harvest-field, and fountain, they supposed a divinity to preside; and all the skill of the chisel, and the harmony of numbers, were employed to embody and perpetuate their conceptions.

This is still the theology of poetry and romance; and over a large portion of the world, claiming particularly to be ranked among the refined and the intellectual, it yet maintains its dominion. The names, indeed, which were used by that refined and elegant people with so much propriety to express their conceptions, are employed no more. Statues of breathing marble no longer embody their conceptions, but the ideas of virtue and of man, of the influence of religion on the character, and of the prospects which it opens in the future world, differ little from theirs. The heaven to which they look, differs little from the Elysian fields. That which is needful to prepare for that world, differs little from the virtues which a refined Athenian deemed necessary to fit

him for the world of beauty and of joy to which he looked forward.

This theology, of course, admits the existence of one God as the Creator and moral Governor of the universe, and dwells with rapture on what are regarded as the amiable and lovely traits of his character. It receives, under the Christian form, the great Messenger whom he has sent, as a moral teacher, and ascribes to him, in all respects, an unsurpassed, and in most respects, an unequalled perfection. It admits his authority to give laws, and to suggest the principles of morals. It receives the Bible as containing a revelation, and finds in that much to admire; for, whatever may be its other characteristics, there is no book which contains so much to commend itself to a religionist of this kind as the Bible. So far as man is concerned, this system regards him as indeed in a less desirable condition respecting religion and morals, than he may once have been, and as having some strong propensities to evil; but he is regarded as in such a state that what is needful for him is not a radical and total change, but the development of internal virtues still living within him; the cultivation of his noble and godlike powers. What this theology proposes to do is not to effect an entire transformation, securing the very beginning of goodness in the soul, but to cultivate the virtues already existing there, which need only to be unfolded.

This theology is not without its use in the world, and produces some effects on society. It finds its appropriate home in poetry; in moral essays; in the slight infusion of religion which a refined literature demands; in the deference to religion which the urbane and well-educated find it convenient to show; and in the obvious necessity for keeping up *some* kind of worship in the world.

But it is little adapted to preaching. It is not the kind

of theology which men instinctively feel to be proper for the pulpit. It may have, indeed, all the elegance of language, and beauty of thought, and grace of scholarship, which the pulpit demands—and in these respects may furnish models which men embracing and preaching a more correct theology would do well to copy—but it lacks the elements of power which we expect in the pulpit; it lacks the variety, and depth, and sublimity furnished to preachers by a different kind of religion. The Greeks never attempted to *preach* their theology. They inwove it into their poetry, and they gave it a permanent form in the master-works of the chisel; but they never *preached* it. Plato, Socrates, Zeno, and Epicurus appointed no *preachers* to make known their doctrines to the world. Much as they valued the results of their speculations, and important as they deemed them for the good of mankind, they never seem to have supposed that their dogmas contained the elements of powerful oratory. Our recollections of the eloquence of Greece are not in fact associated with them, but with a far different kind of public speaking, for little of the recorded eloquence of Greece grew out of religion. It is not certain but that the speech of the Apostle Paul, on Mars' Hill, was the first specimen of true eloquence, connected with religion, that was ever listened to in Athens. We have among the Greeks, dialogues, disputations, poetry, essays on religion, but no *sermons*. Their patriotism furnished grounds of lofty appeal to men; their religion none. They embodied their religious conceptions in poetry and in marble; they reared temples, built altars, perpetuated the images of the gods in statuary; but Greece never sent out a *preacher* to convert the world to its faith. And who now would undertake to preach the theology of Seneca, or of Thomson's Seasons, or of the Spectator or the Rambler? We feel that, whatever beauty or propriety these things

may have there, they are ill-adapted to the pulpit. When men undertake to preach such a system, the topics of public discourse, always tame and powerless, are soon exhausted; there is nothing to seize strongly upon men, and to alarm their consciences, and to bind their powers to religion; they themselves soon become weary, and are ready to embark in some other profession; they cast about in passing events for new topics of exciting thought in the conscious barrenness of the themes of the pulpit; war, the plague, a conflagration, or a steamboat explosion, become a "windfall" in furnishing a topic of public address; and whatever may be the elegance of diction or of manner, every man feels that the *pulpit* is robbed of its great and peculiar power in moving the minds of men. For there is an instinctive feeling which all men have respecting the pulpit. Whatever else it is, it is to be a place of power. It is designed to discuss great and stirring themes; it is intended to take a firmer hold of men than any topics which can be urged in the forum or the senate-chamber; to bring before men motives and thoughts which shall do more to sway them than all other causes combined. Every man feels that the pulpit is not a place in which to discourse on botany, or poetry, or the mere beauties of nature, or to pronounce eulogiums on man, or to furnish descriptions of imaginary fields of the blessed to which all will yet come. Nor can that philosophy which prevails in the world, and which lies at the foundation of the mental systems which are inculcated in the schools, be the basis of preaching. The philosophy of the world is wrong; and there is a *jar* between that which prevails in the schools, and that which exists in reality. In those systems the great truth is overlooked, which, in fact, modifies every other truth in regard to man—that the mind is not to be contemplated as a perfect mind, but as disordered and in ruins. The grand questions which we are to contemplate

in philosophy, are not what would be the laws of the mind if it were not wrecked and ruined; not what are the laws which regulate unfallen minds, but what is the human mind fallen and lost, disordered and diseased, under the control of evil passions, and a perverse and stubborn will, and corrupt desires. It is like contemplating the nervous system, not as it would be if never diseased, and if performing its functions in a state of healthfulness, but as subject to disease, and always liable to derangement. The thing to be done in man is not what philosophy contemplates—*development*, but it is *recovery* and *rescue*—a work peculiar to the gospel of Christ. Preaching addresses man as in ruins; philosophy addresses him as what mind *would be* if the fall had never occurred—and *that* is not a system which can be *preached*. The primary thought, every one instinctively feels, in addressing man from the pulpit, is that he is a sinner; the grand theme is redemption, and reconciliation with God; the issues referred to are an eternal heaven and hell; the world, though full of beauty, is a world of probation, from which the results of human conduct are borne ever onward into far-distant worlds; and in reference to these things, and to the eternal judgment, the most amazing and wonderful events have occurred on earth—the incarnation and the atonement. When these are the topics of preaching, men feel that, however imperfect may be the execution, the *themes* are those which belong to that place, and are the *only* themes which can invest the pulpit with dignity over the academy, the porch, and the forum.

There is a second kind of theology which is not adapted to be preached. It is that which does not contemplate preaching as the principal means of its propagation and perpetuity. For its continuance in the world, and its extension—for of all the forms of theology this aims most decidedly at extension—it relies on other things than preach-

ing. The main thing on which dependence is placed, is not truth applied to the heart, and accompanied by the agency of the Divine Spirit; not a system of doctrines commending themselves to the consciences and understandings of men; not argument, and powerful thoughts, and appeals to men contemplated primarily as reasoning and responsible agents; not those things in the ministry of a personal character which give power to eloquence; but those things which have a very slight connection with eloquence in the pulpit, and which depend little on it. It is a theology whose main sources of influence in the world lie back of the pulpit, and apart from the pulpit; a theology which calculates on success with nearly equal degrees of certainty, whatever the pulpit may be. Its main reliance consists in regarding the church as the enclosure within which alone grace is conveyed; in the apprehensions entertained of the ministry, as being within a certain line along which, by a mystical power, salvation is imparted to men; in the opinions entertained of the sacraments, as of themselves conveying grace to the soul; in the influence of sacred places and vestments, shrines and altars, splendid rites and gorgeous ceremonials; in processions and genuflexions and holy anointing; in being baptized in a proper way, and buried in consecrated ground. In this system, religion is radically a different thing from what it is when *preaching* is regarded as the grand means of its propagation. It begins not in an inquiry whether the system contains *truth* that may be an element of power *in oratory* to move men, but whether the right *channel* for conveying grace has been found, and whether these are the right *persons* through whom it is conveyed. It is impossible to find in the system the elements of power viewed in its relation to public speaking: but it has the elements of vast power viewed in

its relations to an influence over men that is essentially physical and mechanical.

In such a system of theology, preaching becomes, of course, a secondary thing. The arrangement of the chancel is the primary matter; the pulpit is secondary. The altar and the reading-desk are prominent; the pulpit, if it is still retained, is removed into a corner; is made unattractive in its appearance; is seldom occupied. The services contemplated in the pulpit are of the briefest character, and the entire arrangement is to place it in the background, and to make it as far as possible forgotten. The altar at which the priest ministers, is adorned with the highest works of art; lighted candles always burn near it; magnificent paintings attract the eye of the worshipper; incense is wafted in the most sacred portion of the temple of religion; and every thing shows that *preaching* is quite a secondary affair. It is always instructive to go into a place of worship; and a simple survey of the arrangements which present themselves to the eye, will usually disclose the kind of theology which is inculcated there. More than half the arrangements in the splendid cathedrals of the world would be useless if the main reliance were on preaching; and if those arrangements are needed in religion, the Saviour greatly misjudged when he made preaching the grand means of propagating his gospel.

In carrying out the purposes of the system of theology here referred to, a view corresponding to it is of course given to the ministry. The grand business of the minister of religion is not to be a preacher, but a priest. His work ceases to be one requiring high intellectual endowments, but becomes one requiring skilful mechanical execution. It demands but little intellect, little learning, and no eloquence, to be a priest. All the knowledge necessary for a Jewish priest, consisted in keeping up the order of the

festivals and fasts; in acquaintance with the right methods of burning incense, and of killing, flaying, and offering animals on the altar. All this could be acquired in a brief period, and by any class of men, and might, therefore, be intrusted indiscriminately to a whole tribe of men, without reference to any special endowments. And so all over the world, where the main reliance in the perpetuity and propagation of religion is on the performance of certain rites and ceremonies; on the proper administration of the sacraments; on the proper reading of prayers; and on the suitable interment of the dead, little learning or talent is necessary, and there is little to call forth the powers of an orator. The priest is essentially no more intellectual or eloquent, than the teller in a bank, or the superintendent of a cotton-jenny, or the engineer that works a steam engine. It is as easy to become a priest as it is to be familiar with any other mechanical calling; and if, under such a system, a man is learned or eloquent, it is *in spite* of the essential tendency of his system. You can *act* those things on which the efficacy of religion depends; you cannot *preach* them.

All over the world, therefore, the priesthood as such, with indeed some eminent exceptions—exceptions occurring only in the few instances where, as in the case of Bourdaloue and Massillon, under higher and nobler influences, men forget that they are *priests*, and rise to the dignity of *preachers* —has been little distinguished for talent, or learning, or eloquence, or even moral worth. And yet everywhere there is a tendency to transform the preacher to a priest; the form of theology which contemplates an appeal from the pulpit to the reason and the conscience, to that which contemplates success by ascertaining that men are in a certain line of succession, and by an influence that goes forth from the altar. For this is an easier form of religion. It imparts

at once power as a man enters on his way, which in the other case can be gained only by reasoning and argument, and persuasion, and by learning slowly acquired. The mere *priest* is always a man of power, if you will give him the control of the religious principle—for there is no principle so mighty to move men as that, and he who wields that, controls the world. There is power which can be gained through the truth, and by eloquence, indeed, but it can be secured by no mechanical means. No man can start with it when he begins his public way. It can be obtained only as the result of patient study, and of untiring efforts, and of a personal character in which the world will see that it has reason to confide.

We need hardly say that there is now, as in fact there has been at all times, a tendency to the form of theology of which we are now speaking:—the theology which contemplates success not primarily from *preaching*, but from mechanical influences. Its home, its embodiment, its most finished form, is in the church of Rome; its spirit is abroad in nearly all other churches, and it is striving everywhere for the ascendency.

There is a third form of theology which may be noticed, in its relation to preaching, similar to those already referred to. It is that which men are constrained to *abandon* when they come to preach, or which will not bear the test applied to it, when they engage earnestly in an effort to convert sinners to God. It may be taught in the schools; it may be defended by a venerable tradition; it may be embodied in creeds, or in standard systems of theology; but it cannot be preached. It contains dogmas so abhorrent to the obvious teaching of the Bible; so repellent to the common sense of mankind; so at variance with what are found to be just principles of philosophy; so much fitted to retard a work of grace; and so utterly contradictory to what a man is constrained to preach when

his heart is full, and when he has the most enlarged and elevated views of the work of his Saviour, that he *cannot* preach them. It would shock his own feelings; it would contradict all his prayers; it would be fatal to all his efforts to do good; it would throw off the sinner to a hopelsss distance, though he had begun to return to God; it would present theology as at war with the elementary convictions which men have of what must be true.

There has been much of this theology in the schools; and rare is it that one goes forth to preach who does not find many a jutting corner of his theology soon worn off by his contact with the world; many of his theoretical views soon modified; and many of the dark and frowning features of his system of divinity exchanged insensibly for those more bland, and benignant, and cheerful. There is no better way to test certain dogmas that have come down in the church, and that seem to be defended by apparently conclusive reasoning, than to attempt to *preach* them. Standing in the pulpit, with immortal beings before him, whom it is his great business to attempt to win to the knowledge and love of God, theology will seem to be a different thing from what it was when contemplated as an abstract question. There are sympathies and feelings awakened in the bosom of the preacher which he had not when, from his room in the Seminary, he looked out on the world, and which they seldom have who teach theology without the remembered feelings of the pastoral relation. In the pulpit he is not the mere theologian; he is a man, with all the sympathies and feelings of a man. He addresses men, not abstractions. His business now is to persuade men, not to demonstrate dogmas. He is to seek to move them by argument, by persuasion, by appeals that will commend themselves to their good sense; and it is easy then to see that there are certain dogmas which will *not* move them, except to irritation, and which, however strenuously he may have

held them, he cannot preach. They violate the spirit of his commission; they are at war with all the finer feelings of his own nature.

Among those dogmas, we may mention the doctrine of limited atonement. It would be improper to deny that plausible arguments may be adduced in favour of that doctrine; and still more that it has been held by men of great eminence in theology; but it cannot be preached. It does not suggest itself to a man's mind when he is preaching; it does not fall in with the design of preaching. When a man is most deeply engaged in his work, it cannot be preached; it must always be practically abandoned when, under the highest influence of his commission, and under the constraint of the highest motives which press on the soul, the preacher offers the gospel to his fellow-men. Then there is nothing that more cramps the powers, and fetters the hands, and chills the heart of a preacher than such a doctrine; and though there may be, here and there, one so early and thoroughly trained in such a form of systematic theology, so fettered and bound by authority, and by the manacles of a creed, so wholly under the influence of a theology derived from past ages, that he will have the moral courage to stand up in the pulpit, and defend the dogma—freeze him though it does, and grate on the feelings of his hearers though it may—yet it is not a dogma that is, or can be, extensively preached. It never has been, it never will be. It comes so across a minister's commission—to preach "the gospel to every creature,"—implying that the gospel is to be, without mental reservation on the part of God or man, offered to every human being; it is so contrary to the current statements of the New Testament about the design of the atonement, as understood by the mass of readers of that book; it is so chilling to the gushing feelings of a preacher when his heart warms with compassion for guilty men; it is so contradictory

to the prayers which he must offer in the sanctuary, and in his nearest approaches to the throne of mercy in private; it is so cold and withering in its influence on the heart, that men will not preach it. If they felt that it was an essential and necessary part of their message, they would abandon preaching altogether, and engage in farming, or teaching, or the mechanic arts; *any thing* rather than have their better feelings subjected to constant torture.

As a matter of fact, therefore, the doctrine of limited atonement is not and cannot be preached. It is found in ancient books of divinity, written in a sterner age, and when the principles of interpretation were less understood, and the large and liberal nature of the gospel was less appreciated. It is "petrified" in certain creeds maintained by the church, made firm, like fossil remains in a transition state, when ancient opinions were passing to a more liberal form. It is taught in a few seminaries, where men feel themselves constrained to repress the warm emotions of their own souls, and are prohibited from allowing their minds to reach conclusions which they can scarcely avoid. But the doctrine is not preached, except when the heart is cold and dead. It is not preached when the soul is on fire with the love of men, and when the cross in its true grandeur and glory rises to view. It is *never* preached in a revival of religion—a proof, not feeble, that the doctrine is not true.

Akin to this is the doctrine of man's natural inability to do the will of God, to repent of his sins, and to believe the gospel. This doctrine, too, has been taught in the schools; it is found in books of theology; it is embodied in creeds; it is based on an ingenious philosophy; it has been held by not a few eminent men; but it is not a doctrine *to be preached.* If, here and there, a man has the moral courage to preach it, and means honestly to apply his philosophy, and to make "full proof" of divinity, as he understands it, he soon "has

his reward," and will see abundantly the fruit of his ministry. For why should men make an effort to be saved, when they are told that all effort is vain? And why should they hear a message which is only to tell them that they have no power, and that all exertion is fruitless? And why should they put themselves under teaching which makes religion at variance with every thing else that they do, and which in a most active world, and where men *do* accomplish wonders by their efforts, tells them that effort is vain? How will they be persuaded that the same God is the author of the two systems; and that in reference to transitory and temporary matters he has so made man that he can accomplish every thing; in reference to things of real and permanent interest, nothing?

Thus, too, it is with the doctrine of the imputation of the sin of Adam—the doctrine that we are to blame for his transgression,—and condemned for an act which was performed ages before we had a being. Such dogmas so come athwart the common sense of mankind; they are so at variance with the principles on which men act in other things; they so much isolate theology from common life, and from what men know to be just principles, that a preacher who attempts to defend them goes against the common sense and the consciences of his fellow men, and against all the principles which prevail in the world, and they cannot be preached. Theology, as viewed from an intelligent Christian pulpit, is often quite a different thing from what it is in the lecture-room. The theology which Baxter, and Payson, and Whitefield *preached*, was quite a different thing from what theology is in Turretin.

We proceed to inquire more definitely what kind of theology may be preached. We refer to that which will be an element of power in the pulpit; which, so far as theology is concerned, will make the pulpit what it should be. The question is substantially similar to what the inquiry would be, What kind of

doctrines would have been adapted to make the βῆμα in Athens what it should be; or would be fitted to call forth the eloquence of Roman orators; or what kind of doctrines became the House of Lords, or the House of Commons, in the days of the Earl of Chatham and of Burke? We wish to know what truths are appropriate to the place, and will stir up the soul to eloquence.

It is not enough to say that the end can be reached by grace of manner, or by any rules of enunciation or gesture, or by the precepts which mere rhetoricians give, or by elegant diction and powerful declamation. The end is to be reached by the kind of theology which is taken into the pulpit, and which is habitually presented there. I refer to that kind of theology which will make the pulpit in the eye of an intelligent community what it is designed to be; which will secure the largest measure of success according to the talent that is given us; which will make the pulpit what it should be in this age of the world, honourable and eminent among the places of influencing men by public speaking; and which will be best adapted to secure the progress of religion.

We refer, of course, in our own view of the matter, to the great system of redemption, and believe that these elements of power in the pulpit are to be found only in what are called the Evangelical doctrines, or the doctrines of the Reformation. We believe that the pulpit is ill adapted to any other doctrines, and that when these are not the grand theme, the purpose of the pulpit is not reached, and it is shorn of its power. In those great doctrines of redemption, embodied in the Evangelical, and eminently in the Calvinistic system, there are more elements of powerful oratory; more to arouse, and thrill, and awe the soul; more to excite to action; more that may be wrought into efficient eloquence, than existed when Philip threatened Greece, when Burke impeached Warren Hastings in the House of Commons, when Cicero

arraigned Catiline, or when Patrick Henry first taught the hills and vales of Virginia to echo with the notes of liberty. But it would not be needful here for us to state what those doctrines are, nor will we enter on the attempt, however much it invites us, to search out and state what would be found to be elements of power in oratory in the evangelical doctrines.

The line of thought which we wish to pursue is of a more humble, but not less practical cast,—to inquire, on the assumption that these are the doctrines which are to be preached, into the manner in which they are to be presented to meet the design of the pulpit, and the spirit of this age. What kind of theology, then, may be preached, to make the pulpit what it should be?

1. First, it must be that which is based on obvious and honest principles of interpretation. The preacher, more than any other public speaker, is the interpreter of *a book;* and no inconsiderable part of his work consists in explaining the volume which lies before him. In the pulpit he is what the judge and the advocate together are in a court of law. The preacher is at once a grave and impartial expounder of a book, and an earnest advocate. The book which he expounds, too, is in the hands of the people whom he addresses, and they are presumed to be competent to make up their own minds as to its meaning, or at least to judge of the correctness of his interpretation.

The theology of the world has been determined by the views which have prevailed on the subject of interpretation. The success of preaching has been retarded, more than by any thing else, by the principles which have existed in interpreting the Bible. When we look over the history of a preached theology, when we look into theology as we find it in books, nothing is more apparent than that the views which have prevailed in interpreting the Bible are widely different from those which are acted on in interpreting other books. We

look into the methods of interpreting an ancient classic writer, and then into the methods which have prevailed in interpreting the Bible, and we seem to be in different regions. Our old familiar rules in explaining the classics; in obtaining the sense from a line in Horace, and a word in Plato; in interpreting a dialogue of Lucian, or a treatise of Seneca, seem to be of no use to us when we come into the department of interpreting the words of David, Isaiah, or John. We have been accustomed to apply an obvious common-sense to ascertain the meaning of a written document; to suppose that men wrote to make themselves understood; that the mode in which their minds worked, and in which they used language were substantially the same among the ancients and the moderns, and that there were great laws of language which would be found to prevail all over the world. When we come to ask, however, in what way, in fact, the Bible has been interpreted by preachers and theologians, we are surprised to find that it seems to have been interpreted under the operation of quite a different system of laws. We find almost none of the old familiar rules to which we have been accustomed in our classics, but are bewildered and confounded amidst a wholly new set of canons of interpreting language. We are in the midst of double senses, and mystical meanings, and proof-texts that prove nothing, and symbols and words that are understood to have any kind of meaning that can possibly be attached to them. We are told of the necessity of a new and peculiar sort of perception which can only be possessed by the initiated, in order to ascertain the meaning of the words; and when we say that proof-texts adduced seem to us to demonstrate nothing, we are told that the very fact that they *seem* so to us is evidence that we have not been enlightened from above to *see* their force; or, in other words, that our inability to see their force is no argument against it, but proves only that we are destitute

of religion. Infidels and men of the world are approached with such arguments. They see no force in them. They are contrary to their usual methods of using words. They seem to be required to subscribe to canons in interpreting language, to see the justice of which requires a new revelation. They are not convinced by our arguments. They regard the Bible which we undertake to expound as wholly a *mystical* book—a book which they are not expected to understand—and they are willing to *remain* infidels rather than embrace a book to be interpreted in this manner, and they will leave us in our own self-complacency, comforting ourselves with the idea that we only are illuminated from on high.

One needs but little experience in the ministry, and but little acquaintance with theology, to be pained and sickened with the fact that such a multitude of impertinent and inapplicable texts of Scripture are adduced as proofs of Christian doctrine. He learns to feel that there is a strong presumption that if the proof-text were examined, it would have little or nothing to do with the matter in hand. We are not certain but that it might be found to be inapplicable to any thing else rather than the point for which it is adduced; we are not clear but that it would require a special illumination from on high to see that it had any bearing on the point, and that the *real* force of the argument relied on is to be found in one of the thousand significations of which the Scripture is supposed to be so pregnant. It requires some hardihood, we know, to question the reasoning powers of Edwards. But what is the exact state of mind in which even he is read by many of his warmest admirers? When he reasons; when he looks steadily at a point, and applies the powers of an intellect that had probably the highest capacity for ratiocination of any ever created among men; when he combats a foe, and beats down a position with such arguments as are

drawn from reason and the nature of the case, we are awed, and overwhelmed, and silent. But when he appeals to a text of Scripture, it is no unusual thing that we feel that there is no force in the appeal, unless we have learned before to fall in with his views of interpretation. Great as he was, and pious as he was—exalted in personal religion as he was in his reasoning powers, to a position among those who are at the head of the race, you learn painfully to feel that the mere fact that he has attempted to fortify his position by an appeal to the Bible, is scarcely even presumptive evidence of its truth. We are silenced and convinced by his abstract reasoning; not by the texts which he has quoted from the Bible. In like manner, you may demonstrate by abstract arguments a considerable part, if not all, the propositions contained in the Westminster Confession. But who was ever convinced by the texts of Scripture appended to that document, and relied on as proofs? And who in an intelligent assembly would risk his reputation as an expositor by adducing those very texts as proofs of the truth of the doctrine?—So there is a sort of admiration which a man may have for Turretin, and possibly there may be a class of minds that, like him, are the better for the very way in which he quotes Scripture; but what impression would his proof-texts make on an audience accustomed to the common laws of interpreting language? And who now would venture to go before such an audience with such proof-texts as Origen or Cocceius would adduce?

The truth is, that among the advances made on subjects connected with theology, there are none which are more manifest than those which pertain to the interpretation of the Bible. The point will at last be reached—it is not yet reached—that the Bible is to be interpreted as other books are, and that men cannot hide themselves in the mist of an occult meaning when they rely on proofs that shock the

common sense of the world. I will not say, indeed, that such things cannot be *preached*, for in fact they *are* preached all over our country; but we will say that for the credit of religion such theology *ought* not to be preached, and that it *cannot* long be preached in this land. It is too late for a man who is to be a preacher to undervalue the intelligence of his hearers, or to *presume* that he can be successful because they cannot appreciate the force of an argument. That preacher will succeed best who addresses them, not as young preachers are sometimes counselled to do—as so many "cabbage-heads," but as endued with what Mr. Locke calls "large, sound, roundabout sense." In every congregation that may ever be addressed, it is to be presumed that there are shrewd and sagacious men; men who are accustomed to habits of reflection; men who can appreciate a good argument, and who can see the weakness of a bad one; and men who can appreciate a good sermon, if there is a good sermon to be appreciated. A preacher may, in many cases, presume safely that he understands more Latin and Greek than his hearers, but he is not always safe in coming to the conclusion that he has more good sense than they have; he may have a whiter hand, and may make gestures, or flourish his handkerchief more gracefully; he may have better cadences, and may "trill the R's" better than they could; but beyond that he cannot usually venture with much safety; and if he has nothing *but* these, he may be certain that they will very soon come to be valued only for what they are worth. No man can preach safely who does not suppose that in the plainest congregations there are those who can appreciate a sound argument as clearly as himself. No man who begins to preach with a different presumption will labour long without finding that he has been egregiously mistaken in his estimate of his fellow-men. No man, if he has any thing worth hearing, need to fear that there will not be ability

among some of his hearers to appreciate it, or apprehend that it will be wholly lost to the world. If men are not heard in the pulpit, it is because they have nothing worth being heard; if they are ultimately overlooked, it is because they deserve to be, and have only found their proper level.

2. That theology which can be preached must be such as shall commend itself to the common sense of mankind. It must be such as shall find a response in the laws of our nature, and be in accordance with the principles on which men everywhere feel and act. In other words, a man who undertakes to preach theology should be a man of common sense, and should be acquainted with what man is.

We have already said that a minister should not undervalue the good sense of his hearers. We wish now to say, in illustrating the importance of good sense as lying at the basis of the theology that we preach, that good sense—such as will appreciate an argument in preaching, is not confined to any location or to any class of men. Some ministers suppose that all wisdom is in a city congregation; some that behind a pair of spectacles there must be always some great 'doctor' in the laws, in medicine, or in divinity; some that a graceful air, and a genteel dress, or that jewels and rings, imply that there is a peculiar qualification for appreciating a good discourse in theology; some that all wisdom is in the East, and that any thing will do for the West; some that those of eminent attainments should be employed in a Christian land, and that much more slender endowments may occupy the field in ministrations among the heathen. Hence there are so many who feel themselves peculiarly called to labour in city congregations, and city congregations are so favoured with an opportunity to select a pastor from such a multitude who would be willing to serve them; and hence there are those who feel that it would be an abso-

lute waste of talent if their lives were spent beyond the mountains, or among the heathen. Never were greater mistakes made than occur in regard to the ability of men to estimate a public discourse. Good sense, like air and water, necessaries of life, is diffused about equally, and with great profusion over the world; genius and eminent talents, like gems, may be rare indeed, but like gems contribute little to the general happiness of the race. A man makes a great mistake who supposes that all are intelligent in cities; that none are capable of appreciating a good discourse in a country congregation; and equally does he err who supposes that his talent would be unappreciated in the West, or wasted among the heathen. There is, in this country most certainly, often a much higher ability to appreciate a public discourse in a country congregation than in a city congregation; and he who would make a small endowment of good sense go a great way, would often do well to direct his steps to a splendid city church. In the West, there is as high an order of talent developing itself as this age is likely to produce; and he who *has* talent, and who desires that it may be appreciated, would do well to set his face toward the setting sun. Henry Martyn found occasion for all the skill in dialectics which the University of Cambridge could furnish, among the Moolahs of Persia, and his talent was not lost—for he left a path of living light from the Ganges to the Euphrates.

There is nothing in which theology has been more defective than in the want of adapting itself to the ways in which men ordinarily think, and speak, and act. There is no one thing—take the world over—in which ministers are supposed to be so deficient as in regard to the maxims of common prudence, and a knowledge of human nature. There is no one thing in which the theology of the books needs a more thorough reformation, than in adapting it to the maxims of common sense. A great part of the prevalent theology of

the world is based on an old and absolute philosophy. It has technicalities which the great mass of men do not understand, and which they cannot be *made* to understand; or which, if they *do* understand, shocks all their notions of things. Its illustrations, unlike those of the Saviour, are drawn from things remote from common life, and from nature as she appears. There is a jar between theology and nature; between the supposed teachings of revelation, and the works of God; between what is held up as truth, and is required to be believed, and what men perceive to be passing in their own bosoms—the laws by which they ordinarily think and act. Ministers are often men who have little acquaintance with the world, and little of that good sense which is understood to influence other men. They manage their own affairs with less prudence than other men, and they advance and defend opinions which do not commend themselves to the habits of thinking among their hearers. As a class of men they are supposed to be those who are dissociated from the ordinary methods of thinking and acting in the world, and men who, however they may succeed in a profession that is quite aloof from common life, would be little likely to succeed as merchants, or manufacturers, or farmers, or lawyers or legislators—and the simple-hearted Vicar of Wakefield is regarded as a type of the whole fraternity.

Now we will not say that this view is always just, or that wrong is not done to ministers of the gospel as a class of men. We believe that injustice *is* done them, and that as a class they have a more correct knowledge of human nature than they obtain credit for. But still there is some foundation for the charge, and some reason why those who are in the ministry, and those who are soon to enter it, should institute an inquiry into the justice of the charge, and ask whether a remedy may not be applied.

If we were asked what are the *causes* of this general

impression, and what has led to the fact that it is so extensively true, we would answer, that one of the chief causes is the very thing which we are now adverting to—the kind of theology which is taught and preached. It is remote from common life, and common habits of thinking. It is based on a philosophy which does not commend itself to the common sense of men. It abounds in technical terms that convey no meaning to the mass of men. What is eminently needed in a theology that is to be preached is, that its philosophy shall be such as shall accord with the true laws of the mind; that it shall be adapted to human nature as it is; and that the ministers of religion shall show that they think and act like other men. It was one of the most striking peculiarities in the theology of our great Master, that, knowing all the secret springs of the human heart, and commending himself to his hearers by simple illustrations which every man understood, the "common people heard him gladly."

In regard to this, there are two material obstacles in the way of the theologian who preaches now. One is, that which has been already adverted to, that a large part of the theology laid down in books is based on false principles of philosophy; the other is, that a minister rarely sees men as they are. In the sanctuary he sees them in their best clothes; in his pastoral visits, and wherever he is understood to be a clergyman, he sees them in their holiday morals and manners. He sees them as they *prepare* themselves to see their minister—serious, respectful, calm, and devout—if with any plausibility they can assume the appearance of being devout at any time. He can rarely find them off their guard. Compared with a county court lawyer, he has little opportunity to see and to study them as they are.

We know not that the evil can be well remedied, nor that the suggestions which we make here would commend themselves to all men as wise. But we will venture to

say that the man who would preach theology successfully must study *man*—"the proper study" of the theologian as of other men—man in the great principles of his nature, and when off his guard. But how shall he do this, and when? We cannot go largely into the answer to this question; but we will throw out a few hints. Let him, then, study man profoundly, as he is exhibited in the Bible, and feel habitually when he approaches that book which is to be his familiar guide, that he sees man as he has been drawn by Him who knows all the secret springs of the heart, and before whose eyes there was no veil when the character of man was drawn there—man as he always has been and will be. Let him be familiar with Homer, and with the way in which kings and heroes and peasants talked and acted in his times—for so they talk and act everywhere. Let him not deem it a profanation of his sacred vocation to be familiar with the Bard of Avon, that man who seemed to look into the very soul itself, and see how it *would* act and speak in any situation of life; who drew his character not from his knowledge of what *had been*, but from his intuitive perception of what *would be* if human beings should be placed in certain circumstances; that man who, "with no systematic knowledge or scholastic study, comprehended all the powers and uses of the English language so as to speak as no uninspired man ever spoke; who understood all the springs of human motives, and entered into every human character, male and female, English, Roman, African, Danish, and Venetian, and put it on as though it were his own, and who could feel and speak as a king or a clown, the crazy or the sage, the lover, the politician, the glutton, hoary age, and the little child;"* and who seemed to be familiar with every human being that ever has lived, and to know what any one would do who ever

* Biblio. Sacra, II. p. 692.

would live. Let him go into a county court room, and see by what motives men are influenced, and how their passions and characters are developed when there are none of the restraints which exist where clergymen are present, and where no mask is *assumed* to hide what is in the heart. Let him, like his Master, be familiar with children, and see how they think and speak before they have learned to act a part, and have become disciplined in the methods of hiding the emotions of the soul; before, under the design of concealment, they have disciplined the eye, and the brow, and the whole expressive countenance, so that they shall not betray the inward emotions of the soul. Nature, under all the disadvantages of our profession, is still open to the study of the clergyman, and, though shut out in certain quarters, we may still have access to her in others; and no kind of training is more needed in a preparation for preaching with success than that which will simply qualify a minister of the gospel to think and act like other men.

3. The theology that is to be preached should sustain a proper relation to the spirit of the age. We mean that it should be adapted to the habits of thinking and the modes of doing things, and the enterprises of the generation in which we live. We do not mean that the minister of religion should be a time-server. There are great truths and principles which are the same in every age, and which are adapted to man as man, which never change. These are to be the 'burden' of his message, and these he is to preach.

There is no time to dwell on the point now referred to, but there are two or three things that we would suggest, as illustrating the idea that the theology which we preach should be adapted to the age in which we live.

(*a*) One is, that each age of the world has its own peculiarity of thinking and methods of doing things; and that a man who wishes to accomplish any thing must be a man of

that generation, and not a man of a bygone age. The methods of thinking and doing things in this generation may be no wiser or better than what may have prevailed before, and may be far inferior to what will be yet; but in a matter in itself indifferent, it will be well for a man not to forget the times in which he lives, and not to act as if he lived in an age long since gone by. In many respects it is quite indifferent how men dress, and as a matter of fact, the fashion prevailing now may be much less convenient or becoming than some one that has existed; but however convenient it might be, it would not be well for a man now to appear in the costume of the times of Elizabeth, or to borrow his fashion from the capital of the Sultan. Still less would it be wise to maintain that the same fashions shall prevail all over the world. Our age, in its modes of thinking, and its methods of doing things, has its own peculiarities, and they are as strongly marked as those of any that have gone before. It is not the age of Augustus, or of the Venerable Bede, or of Duns Scotus, or of Leo X., or of Elizabeth, or of Charles II. It may be in some respects inferior to some of these, but it is as strongly marked as any one of them; and a man formed under influences existing at either of those times, would be little at home in this generation. Neither Origen nor Augustine, St. Antony nor St. Dominic, Peter the Hermit nor Duns Scotus, would be fitted for this generation. It is an age of enterprise and action; of rapid changes; of new forms of thought; of a disposition to apply any suggestion in science or morals, however slight, or however bad it may be, to new experiments, and to make the most of it; of methods of rapid interchanges of thought among men; an age, when old barriers of opinion, and religion, and laws, are everywhere tumbling down, and the nations of the earth are becoming one. Now he who intends to preach the Gospel makes a great mistake if he does not study the age in which he lives,

and does not appear as one *belonging* to that age. He would be as much out of place as the knight-errant of the Middle Ages with visor, and helmet, and cuirass, and spear, would be in doing battle now. He may have been a very valiant man in his day, and not a weapon that he had then, or a part of the armour of his person would have been useless; but of what utility would they be amid a shower of grape and cannon balls? How much would lance and spear do in attacking a battery mounted with Paixhan guns? Of as little use is much of the theology taught in the old books of divinity, and as wise is he who approaches modern infidels with exactly the methods of reply adopted in meeting Celsus and Porphyry.

(*b.*) Again. In a theology that is to be preached, the ministry should not only be endowed with the genial spirit of the age, but should be able to meet the new questions that are coming up in every generation, and to apply to them, in view of an intelligent community, the great principles of religion. In the time when Antony began to make the monastic system popular in Egypt, and Benedict in Italy, what was needed was a ministry so imbued with sound theology that *that* question—the great question of the age—could be met and settled by the true principles of the gospel. In the time when an undue respect began to be shown to relics, to consecrated temples, and to burial-places, and the church was degenerating into a base superstition, what was demanded was such a ministry as could have met *that* question, and apply to it the principles of sound philosophy and theology. So in every age, there are new questions that are to be met by the ministry; and unless they show themselves competent to apply to them the principles of their religion, they fall behind their generation, and show themselves incompetent to their work. Never were more such questions started than in this age, and never was there more need of studying profoundly the great principles of religion, by those who take upon them-

selves to be the guides of the public mind. The true questions which agitate this age are not those of the monastic system, or the Crusades, or the points mooted by the "angelic doctors" Aquinas and Scotus; nor are they the questions about the "three orders" in the ministry, or the apostolic succession, or the inquiries that have been started at Oxford. There has been, indeed, and is, an attempt to foist these inquiries of bygone years upon this generation, and it is well to be prepared to meet them; but those are not the things that are moving the mind of the world in this age. How limited, after all, is the circle which these inquiries can agitate! How few of the race at large can be interested in the question about the "three orders," or the "succession!" There are deeper things moving on the public heart. Great questions of liberty, of government, of education, of freedom of thought, of temperance, of slavery, of the right to the Bible, of exclusiveness, of war and peace, of the social organization, of the adaptation of the Christian religion to man, are the points which this age, as such, is looking at; and a man may be an entire master of all the theology that can be made to converge around the questions that have come up at Oxford, and yet never awake to the inquiry whether he is in the eleventh or nineteenth century; and, while he is rearguing points which have been determined ages ago, society shall move on in strides which he will never dream of overtaking, toward the point which it is destined yet to reach, and all they of Oxford, and all who moot similar questions to those agitated there, shall be left far behind.

(*c.*) But further. A preacher should not only be able to appreciate his age, and to come up to it in adapting his instructions to the great questions which are started in the times in which he lives, but he should be in *advance* of his age. He should be able intelligently to take positions to which society has not yet come up, but which it will most certainly reach in

its onward progress. He should be able to throw himself into the future, and, taking his stand on great principles which are to live in all times, and which are yet to be regarded as settled principles, he should be prepared to defend them, and to do what in him lies to bring the world to embrace them. There are not a few such in the Bible—in the comparatively unexplored views of divine truth, which are to be wrought out, and which are to make the world what it is yet to be. Whether those positions have been held in the past or not; whether his own age adopts and practices on them or not; he who preaches the theology of the Bible should defend them, and should be able to show what important changes the fair application of the principles of the New Testament would make in the world. The men who have done much for the race have gone in advance of their age; they have maintained positions, often in the midst of much persecution, which society had not yet reached, but to which it was destined yet to come, and have shown their greatness, and their sagacity, and their acquaintance with the oracles of truth, by being able to take such advanced positions, and by holding and defending them in the face of the sneers and the frowns of the world. Such men were Luther and Knox; such men were the Puritans and the Pilgrims; such a man in relation to the rights of conscience, to war and slavery, was William Penn. Thus, now, we are to take our stations on the watch-towers, and defend not only what has been defended, and maintain not only what has been inwrought into the texture of society, but we are to search out and maintain those great principles which *will* prevail in the world's millenium, and to which, though slowly, yet most certainly, the world is advancing. The theology to be preached is not only that which has been settled as true in past times by experience; not only that which is fitted to the great questions of these times; but that which will be fitted to the state of the world when society shall have

made its highest attainments, and shall have reached the point on which the eyes of prophets and apostles were fixed.

We had designed to have made some remarks on another point, by showing that the theology which is to be preached should be in accordance with the disclosures of science; and that the minister of religion should be able to show that the system which he defends is not antagonist with what is revealed by the blowpipe, the crucible, and the telescope; that nothing is gained in the end by making war on such men as Galileo, and that much is lost by leaving it problematical in the view of the world whether the friends of the Christian revelation can hold their system consistently with the revelations of science. But it would be unreasonable for us to attempt to illustrate that point.

If there were space, also, our subject would lead us, in the conclusion, to dwell on the aspects of preaching, of a most noble kind, as it might be, and as it should be; as a department of *literature*, and as a department of *oratory*. On one of those topics only will we make a suggestion.

From some cause there has been a sad divorce between the pulpit, as such, and large departments of literature. When from the poetry that charms and pleases—from the reviews of Macaulay, and Jeffrey, and Sydney Smith—and from the Guardian, the Rambler, and the Spectator, and still more from the light and attractive literature of this age, men turn to *sermons*, they feel as if they were going from sunshine to gloom, from a clear to a murky atmosphere, from the saloons of pleasure and enchantment, the halls of the Alhambra, to the catacombs of Egypt. There are no public discourses which men in this age are so ready to *hear*, none which they are so indisposed to *read*, as sermons. The very name, considered as referring to reading matter, is synonymous with all that is dry and dull. While, of all the people on the earth, we are most given to *hearing* sermons; there is almost any

thing which we will not sooner *read*. There is a deep demand in our nation and in our times for this kind of public instruction; but this demand, so far as its literature is concerned, is not met. The most unsaleable of all books are sermons, and no wise man now publishes a sermon with a view to its being sold. If sermons are published, it is done with a remote hope that they will be accepted kindly, if given away; and happy does the author deem himself if his friends will receive them as a gift, even with scarcely an implied pledge that they will read them. The man who adventures a volume of sermons does it at the peril of his bookseller; and of all the manuscript productions now in the world, those, the smallest proportion of which would bear to be published with a view to a sale, are probably the piles of sermons which are found in the studies of ministers of the gospel. It may be said, it is true, that they have answered their end, and that a valuable end; it is true, that, from the necessary sameness of the subjects in such discourses, it could not be expected that the public would demand or bear their publication. It is true, that even when a sermon has been written with much care, and then, after being preached, is laid aside forever, and no one may wish to look at it, a man should not feel that his labour has been ill-bestowed; or that his careful study in composing it, and his attention even to the neatness of his chirography, or his manuscript, has been in vain, any more than the farmer feels when he has turned a handsome furrow, and his field, as a mere specimen of ploughing, is beautiful, that it has been in vain; for it is one of the characteristics of the *good* farmer to lay his furrows thus; and, though all that beauty shall soon disappear, the great object has been gained in the waving golden harvest that follows. So the preacher may feel that though his manuscripts may go no farther than his own pulpit, and then be forgotten or burned, still his care is not in vain. The ample

result is not to be seen in the elegantly bound volume, but in the happy fruits of piety that shall spring up on the field that he cultivates; a golden harvest more rich than any over which the zephyr waves.

But, while this is true, it is still true that the age and the circumstances demand that there should be a higher literature than there is in sermons. As literary compositions, they should be of the highest possible order; they should be such as will not merely not offend, but as will attract those of delicate and refined taste; they should be such as will not make the theology that is preached repellant to cultivated minds, but such as will commend it; they should be such as will be in every way worthy the minds that have received the highest education which our country can furnish, and such as shall become those who, by their stations, must contribute more than any other class of men to form the public manners and taste. As none of the truths which God designs to teach in his works are rendered powerless and neutral by the exquisite beauty spread over the face of creation, the simple and pure charms in which they are conveyed to us in the stream, the flower, the vale, the landscape, so none of the truths of revelation will be rendered less powerful and efficient, by being conveyed in a dress that shall correspond with the methods in which God addresses us in his beautiful works. The world, as God has made it, is full of beauty. He speaks to men amid the exquisite charms of the works of nature, and surrounds himself with every hue of light and love when he approaches us in his works. The expanding flower, the rainbow, the variegated lights that lie at evening on the clouds of the western sky, or the gay lights that play in the north, the dewdrops of the morning, the fountain, the lake, the ocean, the waterfall, the flower-covered prairie, and the waving forest; these are the things through which God speaks to men in his works. So, with all that is attractive, and beau

tiful, and simple, and pure, and chaste in thought and language, should it be our aim that He should speak to men, when He conveys the noble truths of redemption to the world by our instrumentality; and so should the pulpit be seen to be the appropriate place for conveying the richest and noblest truths that have dawned on this part of the universe—the system of theology which He has commissioned us to preach.

XI.

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The Position of the Christian Scholar.

We shall arrange the thoughts we wish to submit on the subject of this article under three heads: the Position of the Christian Scholar in this age; the Means by which that position has been reached; and the Advantages which it gives him as he enters on life.

The first point is the Position which he occupies in this age. He has two things that characterize him: his scholarship and his religion. The one is that which is furnished by a liberal education; the other that which is produced by Christianity applied to his heart. The one would make him different from a youth educated in ancient Athens or in modern Turkey, Persia, or China; the other makes him different from what he would have been if trained to worship in the Parthenon or Pantheon; if he were a Mussulman or a Parsee, a Brahmin or a Buddhist. His religion and his scholarship are not of *equal* worth, though they each possess a value which cannot be computed, and combined they give him a position in the world which is peculiar.

Religion and learning have always had an interesting relation to each other, and are always destined to have. As they contribute to promote each other or come in conflict; as they sustain, oppose, or modify each other; as one has the ascendancy, and the other is held to be subordinate; or as they move on in harmony, each in its appropriate sphere, they serve to give character to particular periods of the world, and mark the progress which has been made in human affairs.

It requires but little knowledge of history to understand that now one is in the ascendancy, and now the other; that now they seem to come in conflict, and now they move along harmoniously; that now the conclusions of science are proscribed because they are in collision with some article of the "Creed," and that now the teachings of religion are modified or rejected because they are supposed to come in conflict with some of the revelations of science.

The facts here adverted to are most likely to occur in those cases where the religion has written records, as most religions have. In all those cases the records are permanent, and are believed to contain unchangeable truth. But those records have commonly been made in comparatively rude ages of the world, and among a people having little pretension to science. They incidentally or necessarily make many statements bearing on the provinces of learning; they contain affirmations on the subjects of moral and mental philosophy; and in all these respects they encounter the risk of the opposition which the disclosures of science in more advanced periods of the world may make. There are few of the sacred books in the various systems of professed revelations in the world, which have not *volunteered* numerous statements on points which have subsequently become identified with the sciences. The fact of the permanency of these records, and the necessity subsequently felt of reconciling them with the facts which science has disclosed, has given rise to many of the methods of interpretation which have prevailed, and which characterized whole systems of theology. If those records are not absolutely incompatible with the disclosures of science, a system of interpretation will be adopted that will aim to retain their authority. It is only when the point of absolute contradiction is reached, that the effort will be abandoned; but, until this is perceived, the attempt at reconciliation will be pursued through all the forms of allegorical and mystical interpreta-

tion; of accommodation and double sense; of rationalism and transcendentalism. When the disclosures become irreconcilable, the system of religion falls, and the scientific world passes off into the form of total unbelief, or embraces some new claim of revelation.

The Hellenistic religion cannot be said to have rested for its authority on written records; but it became enshrined and embodied in the Greek poems, particularly in those of Hesiod and Homer. How far these poems were allowed to influence the popular belief on the subject of religion, cannot now be ascertained; but at an early period the rigid philosophy of the Greeks recognised the impossibility of ascribing to the Deity manifestations so grossly human, so immediate, and so barbarous, as those represented as divine in the wild conflicts of Hesiod's Theogony, and in the domestic occupations, and trivial pursuits of the Homeric deities.* "Hence arose the quarrel of Plato, and prior to him, of Pindar, with Homer; hence the cause which induced Anaxagoras, to whom the invention of the allegoric mode of interpretation is ascribed, to apply the Homeric delineations to virtue and justice; hence it was that the Stoics understood the Theogony of Hesiod, as relating to the action of the elements, which, according to their notions, constituted in their highest union, the divine nature." Ultimately, the whole was seen to be fable, as depending on neither historic nor scientific grounds, and as irreconcilable with truth by any principles of allegoric interpretation; and the cultivated mind of Athens and Corinth, as that of the world at large has now done, passed into a state of unbelief in regard to all the forms of what Mr. Gibbon calls "the elegant mythology of Greece."

The Hebrew people had little science. What they had was mostly embodied in their sacred books, as the science of India

* Strauss' Life of Jesus, p. 3.

is now in the Shasters, and the political wisdom of China in the works of Confucius. Jewish scholars made no progress in astronomy, geology, anatomy, mental philosophy, geography, or history, which even *seemed* to conflict with the statements of their prophets. And yet the men among them who claimed to be inspired of God, were constantly uttering sentiments which, as the result has shown, could not but appear in future times to come in conflict with the disclosures of science.

It was only when revealed religion encountered the doctrines which in a later age came in from the East, or when it overstepped the limits of the stinted territory of Palestine, and came in contact with the Western mind, that any discrepancy between the religion of the Bible and science seemed to occur, which required an effort to reconcile them. Then arose the whole system of allegorical interpretation, in an attempt to harmonize the statements in the Bible with the prevailing belief in the philosophic world. On the one hand there were these writings, held to be a revelation from God, composed in a comparatively uncultivated age, and in a land not distinguished for science; and on the other, there were the views in philosophy sanctioned then by the great teachers of the world; and there must be in future times the new disclosures which true science would make. The statements in the system of revealed religion were recorded statements, and must be held to be true, if this religion was to retain its authority; the maxims of philosophy, and the discoveries of science, were also regarded as settled and certain; and it was not unnatural that they should seem to come in collision. It was difficult to pursue the inquiries of philosophy, without allowing the mind to be influenced by the question, how these would bear on the doctrines of religion; and it was as difficult to hold to the articles of the faith, without permitting them to influence the mind in the conclusions to which it would come

in scientific investigations. There was not, as yet, confidence that the doctrines which would be reached by the fair interpretation of the sacred writings, would be found to be in accordance with the conclusions of science; nor did those views as yet prevail, which would lead men to pursue the investigations of science with a firm conviction that its disclosures would *not* be found to be at variance with those of revealed religion. Hence arose the whole system of *allegoric* interpretation;—a system which, while it allowed the friends of religion to retain their belief in the inspiration of the sacred writings, allowed them also to embrace any dogmas of philosophy, or any truths of science which might be developed, and even to maintain that those very doctrines were found, covered with a veil, in the sacred volume itself. Origen, who, though he adopted the principle from Philo the Jew, may be regarded as among Christians the father of this system of interpretation, attributes a threefold meaning to the Scriptures, corresponding with his distribution of the human being into three parts:—the literal sense answering to the body; the moral to the soul; and the mystical to the spirit. The rule with him was to retain all these meanings, though differing in worth; in some particular passages, however, he was of opinion that the literal sense either gave no meaning at all, or else a perverted meaning, in order the more directly to impel the reader to the discovery of the mystical signification. In many cases, also, the application of this principle permitted the entire *denial* of the literal truth of a passage in the sacred writings, as being in conflict with some truth established by philosophy, and thus it became necessary to search for, and to hold, only the mystical truth. Hence, one of the maxims of Origen was, that "a spiritual truth often exists embodied in a corporeal falsehood."* Hence, also, it often

* Com. in Joann., tom. x. § 4, *σωζομένου πολλάκις τοῦ ἀληθοῦς πνευματικοῦ ἐν τᾷ σωματικῷ, ὡς ἄν εἰποι τις ψεύσει.*

happened that the literal truth of the narrative was denied, and a method was devised by which it was supposed that the inspiration of the Scriptures might be maintained, and the independent investigations of philosophy might be pursued. It was thus that after the age of the apostles, Christianity attempted to *accommodate* itself to philosophy; thus that it sought to avoid an absolute rejection by the cultivated mind of the world, and to show that it was not inconsistent with the independent progress which mind would make in science. The apostles, more honest men, had pursued a different course. They made no effort to accommodate the one to the other. They assumed that the revelation which they came to make was true, and that all the science which actually opposed this was false. They never doubted that, while there was much "science falsely so called," that was in direct conflict with their message, all true science would be found to be in accordance with it. They therefore gave themselves no trouble in attempting to reconcile the one with the other, but proclaimed their message in their own way, leaving the world to take care of science as it might choose.

In the Middle Ages, till the time of Galileo, things assumed another form. Then religion, as it was held, had the ascendency. All science was subordinate to it. All the professorships in the universities were in the hands of the friends of the church; all the learning was possessed by the clergy; all the investigations of science were pursued by the friends of Christianity; and no one wished, or dared to reach a conclusion which would not be sustained and sanctioned by the articles of the creed. If there was any bold spirit that ventured out in a new line of discovery, and whose conclusions seemed likely to impinge on some article in the church, his religion checked him, or he was soon checked by the voice of an authority which no one presumed to disobey. The im-

prisonment of Galileo was just the exponent of this state of things on the part of the church; the solemn retraction by Galileo of the opinion which he had expressed, and the denial of the truth of what he had seen through the telescope *because* it seemed to impinge on the articles of faith in the church, was just the exponent of the feelings which had reigned throughout the dark ages. There was as yet no independent pursuit of the investigations of science on the one hand, or of the interpretation of the Bible on the other; no confidence that they would be found to harmonize with each other.

The Reformation placed things on a different ground. It *maintained* confidence unimpaired in the Bible; it *restored* the apostolic confidence that the investigations of science would not be found to be in conflict with the doctrines taught by its fair interpretation. It broke the shackles which had bound the human intellect; made men once more independent in their scientific investigations; imbued their minds with true confidence in religion, and, at the same time, gave utterance to the opinion that the most free investigations of science would never come in conflict with the truths derived from the fair interpretation of the Bible. While it gave to scientific investigation all the freedom which would be demanded by the principle of the inductive philosophy, it at the same time held to the belief of the divine origin and authority of the Bible with a tenacity which was unequalled in any former age, and which increased in strength just in proportion as the mind felt itself emancipated from the thraldom of the dark ages.

The deists and naturalists of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries assumed another position still on the subject. They had become imbued with the principles of the inductive philosophy, and maintained the right of independent investigation in science in the most absolute manner. At the same

time, they looked with contempt on the whole system of allegoric interpretation; and they believed firmly that the principles of sound philosophy would lead to a direct conflict with the teachings of the Bible. They became infidels, therefore, because they supposed that the teachings of the Bible and of science were not capable of reconciliation. Toland and Bolingbroke pronounced the Bible to be a collection of unauthentic and fabulous books. According to Morgan, the law of Moses is a miserable system of superstition, blindness, and slavery. According to Chubb, the Jewish religion cannot be true, because it debases the moral character of the Deity, by attributing to him arbitrary conduct, partiality for a particular people, and, above all, by the command to exterminate the Canaanitish nations.

In more modern times, there has been scarcely a discovery in science that has not been arrayed against Christianity, and that has not furnished, on the one hand, a ground of temporary alarm to the friends of revealed religion, and on the other, a ground of momentary triumph to its foes. It would lead us too far from our purpose to state, in detail, the objections to Christianity which have been derived from those sciences, or to consider the question whether those objections have, or have not been satisfactorily solved. The remarks made will suffice to show the difficulties which may be expected to be encountered in the nature of the case, between a religion where there are permanent written records, and the disclosures which will be made by science. On the part of the friends of Revelation, there may be expected to be apprehension and alarm; on the part of its enemies, the note of triumph. With the one there will be a tendency to depart from the proper rules of interpretation to accommodate the revealed doctrine to the scientific discovery; with the other there may be anticipated much that is unreasonable, in not being willing to admit proper explanations, and in not con-

ceding what is fairly to be inferred from the fact that the Revelation was not *designed* to give instruction in the sciences. It may be anticipated that it will be long before the true method of reconciling these things will be understood; it will be long before the friend of religion will engage in the pursuits of learning and science with a perfectly independent judgment; it will be long before the friend of science will pursue his inquiries with no expectation and no desire that his conclusions shall conflict with the teachings of Revelation.

Whether that point is now reached, it is not very material to inquire; but it may be affirmed that it is now morally certain that that is the ultimate tendency of the course of events. This leads us to state more specifically what *is*, as we understand it, the exact position of the Christian scholar in this age. Without entering into any inquiry as to the comparative claims of Christian scholars and others, and without starting the question whether, other things being equal, piety is favourable or unfavourable to scientific pursuits, a few remarks may be made on the subject, which will define the present position of the Christian scholar.

The first is, that it has come to be generally admitted in the scientific world, that the results of investigation in the one will not be found to be inconsistent with the other; or that there is no incompatibility between the profoundest reverence for the Bible, and the highest pursuits of science and learning. It is neither assumed nor feared that the one will impinge on the other. It is neither supposed that in order to high attainments in science, it is necessary that a man should be an infidel, nor that he would be embarrassed in such pursuits by his being a Christian. It is neither necessary for a scientific man to begin his inquiries by being an infidel, nor, in pursuing them to the utmost, to fear that he will become one. The man of science pursues his investigations as

fearlessly as if there were no book claiming to be a revelation from God; the Christian interpreter applies his rules of exegesis as independently as if none of the disclosures of modern astronomy, anatomy, chemistry, geology, had been made. If it should be doubted whether this point has been exactly reached; if it should be maintained that there are *some* who approach the Bible timidly, fearing that a fair interpretation of its pages will be found to conflict with the disclosures of science, and who seek to find recondite and allegorical meanings as a refuge from disaster and defeat; and if, on the other hand, there are those who do pursue the investigations of science with the expectation and the hope that they will reach results in conflict with the teachings of the Bible,—still it is true that these are exceptions to the prevailing feeling. As a proof that the point which we are now stating has been practically and substantially reached, we need only refer to the literary and scientific institutions in this land. The two things that are to be noticed are, that those are Christian institutions, and that they are, at the same time, seats of science. There are no avowedly infidel colleges in these United States. There are none, it is believed, in which the forms of Christian worship are not maintained. There are none in which the Bible is not read, or studied, as being of Divine authority. There are few which have not been founded expressly under Christian patronage, and which are not sustained mostly by the liberality of Christians. Of those colleges, also, a large portion have been endowed with the express design of preparing men for the Christian ministry. And yet, in no place in our country—in none in the world—are the sciences more encouraged, or pursued more independently, than in our colleges. It is a part of the plan; it is of the very essence of the design of founding them, that the highest facilities shall be furnished to conduct young men along the departments of history, and geography, and criticism, and chemistry, and astronomy,

and geology; and those institutions feel themselves most honoured, and suppose that the design of their being founded is best carried out, when their pupils go forth prepared to take an elevated rank in any of these departments, or when any one of their alumni makes a new discovery in science. These facts show that a change has come over the public mind, so far that it is a conceded and well-understood point, that there is *supposed* to be no inconsistency between the highest attainments in religion, and the highest attainments in science.

The next thing to be said as indicating this position is, that in the apprehension of the Christian scholar himself, the two pursuits are not *incompatible* with each other. And this is much. In an honest endeavour now to be a Christian of most eminent faith and devotedness, he does not assume, as was once inevitably felt, that it is necessary to avoid the pursuits of science; in his efforts to become eminent in any of the departments of learning, he does not assume, as has often been felt, that it is necessary to lay aside his Bible, or to forsake the place of prayer. In order to be either in the highest degree, it is not needful that the mind should be embarrassed by any apprehended conflict of the one with the other; nor in order to eminence in the one, is it necessary that he should withdraw his devotion from the other. A man who is disposed to make the most of his talents in the cause of science, will not feel that it is necessary, in his own apprehension, to proscribe religion as the first grand pursuit of life; nor will one who aims to make the highest possible attainments in piety, deem it necessary for him to eschew the walks of science, in order that he may maintain his faith unimpaired. We are not now insisting on the fact, which might be urged, that a man who wished to make the most of his powers in the cause of science would be most likely to be successful if he imbued his mind with the principles of religion in the highest degree; we are adverting to another point, that, in his own

mind, there will be no necessary embarassment—no apprehended conflict—between the one and the other. He may enter his laboratory with no fear that the devotions of the closet will be disturbed by any discoveries which he will make there; he may go to his closet with a mind undisturbed by the revelations of the blow-pipe or the telescope.

As to the reality of the fact above stated, we suppose there will be no doubt. If there were, it would be easy to confirm it by referring to any number of illustrious names in the various departments of science, not less distinguished by the steadiness of their faith in the gospel, and by their lives of consistent piety than by their learning. Even in geology, the science in which, just now, there would be supposed to be most that is in conflict with the Bible, and in which there is most difficulty in adjusting its disclosures with the account in the sacred records, it is a remarkable fact, that, alike in our own country and abroad, the men most eminent in that science, are men who see no discrepancy between it and the records in the Bible. Need we do more than allude to the names of Buckland, and John Pye Smith, and Silliman, and Hitchcock?

But what we wished particularly to say as illustrating the present position of the Christian scholar, was, that it has not always been so. In the early times of Christianity, it must often have been a subject of anxious inquiry, whether the truth of the sacred records would stand the test when the religion came in contact with the doctrines of philosophy. In the dark ages, when here and there one—for there were such, like Roger Bacon*—pursued his researches into nature, apprehension must have often been excited lest these pursuits would impinge on some article of faith, and the researches of science were pursued in secret places, and with a trembling

* A. D. 1214–1292.

hand. It is easy to imagine what apprehension Galileo in a later age felt, when his comparatively rude telescope disclosed to his astonished vision the satellites of Jupiter, and when his mind adverted to the probable bearing of this on what were regarded as the established articles of the Christian faith. Nor need we conceal the fact that probably *all* the sciences have in their turn produced alarm in the bosoms of the friends of religion, and that many a votary of science has approached his favourite pursuit with a fearful apprehension that the next step of discovery might overthrow the cherished articles of his faith. This source of apprehension is now at an end. On the one hand, the sciences may be pursued to their utmost extent with no dread of the Inquisition, or, what is more alarming to a truly pious mind, with no fear that an article of faith will be weakened or shown to be false; and on the other, the votary of science, if inclined to skepticism, is constrained to abandon the last hope that nature has any thing to disclose that will disprove the written revelation which God has made, or that will confirm him in his unbelief. The Christian scholar may push his way up to the highest seats of learning, and be under a necessity at no point of his progress to lay aside his simple habits of devotion; to abandon any of the articles of his Christian faith; or to omit his daily devout reading of the Bible.

Another thing to be noticed in regard to the position of the Christian scholar in this age is, that from some cause his religion is accompanying the march of science around the world. Whether it precedes or follows it; whether it prepares the way, and prompts to scientific discoveries, or whether it follows in its *wake*, and avails itself of the preparations which science makes in the minds of men to receive the Christian revelation, may be a point on which some difference of opinion might be entertained, and is not material to the subject before us. The matter of fact to which we are adverting is, that the

two accompany each other; that the eye in looking over the world sees the one where it sees the other; and that the same lines of boundary will determine the position and the extent of both. Any one may be satisfied of this by procuring a map of the world, and marking out on it the portions of the globe most distinguished for science and literature; and, if he had never before adverted to it, he would be surprised to find how accurately those lines would determine the places where the Christian religion prevails. And if, in the still dark portions of the world he should find here and there a spot gleaming in the midst of the darkness, like Iceland in the northern seas, or on any of the borders of the fixed boundaries of darkness he should see pencils of light partially shining on the surrounding darkness, he would be no less surprised to find that these geographical limits are in all cases determined by the combined influence of Christianity and science. He would find neither of them occupying independent positions, or making independent aggressions on the regions of night, but would see them moving hand in hand in the world. If he saw indications of one, he would see that the other was not far in the rear. Together they determine the limits of light on the globe.

This also, is not only true *in fact*, but the belief that this *is* so, is fast gaining ground in the world. The heathen nations have learned, or are learning, to associate the one with the other. The impression is fast becoming fixed in the faith of the world, that the two are in fact blended, and are to be blended; that where the one prevails, the other will prevail also; and that if men will have the one they must welcome to their bosoms also the other. The great fact cannot be concealed, that where Christianity prevails, there also civil liberty prevails; that there the highest point has been reached in navigation, in manufactures, in legal and medical knowledge, in the arts, in the spirit of enterprise and adventure. Whether

these things may be *valued* or not, the fact is seen and admitted. The American savage that looks upon Christian institutions with feigned or real indifference, sees it; the Turk, the inhabitant of China, the Arab, that at long intervals visits our shores, sees it, and they respectively bear the report to their own land. There is no impression that is more certain to become established among the nations, than that, for some cause, Christianity, refinement, the arts, the sciences, and the influence of the press, have a mysterious but certain connection. Every year tends to confirm this impression. Every missionary that we send out confirms it. Every ship that visits a barbarous coast; every press that we establish among the heathen; every book that we print and circulate there, tends to confirm it.

And there is one other thought which may be adverted to as of value in illustrating this point. It is, that somehow Christianity has shown a remarkable affinity for the best form of *mind* that the world has developed; namely, the Teutonic; and especially the Anglo-Saxon mind. It was very early in the history of the nations that poured in from the North, and that overran the Roman Empire, that they were brought under the power of Christian truth; it was early in the records of the Anglo-Saxon that they exchanged their superstitions for the faith of the gospel. In most respects that mind, in its various branches, is the best mind of the world. It has more vigour, energy, power. It is better adapted to the sciences, to political toil, to the useful arts. It has more of that enterprise which explores the seas and lands that make up the globe, and covers them with ships and with dwellings. It has more expansive power; it secures a firmer grasp on improvements; it strikes out more new inventions; it has more creative resources in overcoming difficulties. It is more imbued with the love of liberty, and is less liable to be controlled by the sceptre of the tyrant, or to be debased by superstition. It is already the

ruling mind of the world, and is pushing its conquests farther and farther every year. There is scarcely any portion of the globe now that does not feel its power, in some departments of action, of the Anglo-Saxon mind; and when its conquests are made, they are permanent. It is not so much the conquest of arms as it is the conquest of intellect; not the triumph of the sword so much as the triumph of the mariner's needle, of the telescope, of the quadrant, of the blow-pipe, of steam, and of the press. Now, it is undoubtedly a fact, that Christianity, from some cause, has attached itself by bonds never to be dissolved, to this order of mind. The developments of that mind have been closely connected with the Christian religion. Rough at first—fierce, warlike, barbarous; it has been subdued, refined, civilized, by its connection with Christianity, without losing aught of its energy and power. In connection with that mind, Christianity occupies the principal seats of learning in the world; in connection with that it is now seen at nearly all the missionary stations on the earth, and alike by arts and literature, and religion, is coming in contact with all the heathen mind of the world.

What we have said under this head is, that the Christian scholar, after having often had most indefinite views of the position which he should occupy; after having been often opposed and ridiculed for the position which he sought to occupy and to which he thought himself entitled; and after having done more than any other man to mould society itself, and to shape its affairs so that he *might* occupy the position which he does, has at last come to an understanding with the world on the subject. Scientific and literary men are to pursue their investigations in their own way, and he is to pursue his investigations in his way—as free as they are, and they as free as he is. He is not to hinder or denounce them; nor are they to hinder or denounce him. He is on the same level with them in his honest pursuits; and they are on a level with

him in theirs. He is free to go into any of their departments, and bring out all that he can find that they have elaborated or discovered, to defend his religion; and they are free in their departments to make an honest application of all that they discover to the religion which he requires them to believe. He is to have no fear as to any ultimate conflict between science and religion; and they are to raise no shout of anticipated triumph as if, in their department, they can overturn the Christian system. His religion has stood thus far, and still stands; and that which has outlived the objections drawn from the revelations of the telescope, the microscope, the blowpipe, and the mariner's needle; which has lived on and flourished most in the periods and lands where nature has been subjected to the severest torture to reveal her secrets; which has survived while science has penetrated the earth, and brought forth the records of ages and times hundreds of thousands of years before man himself lived, it may be presumed has nothing to fear from any future disclosures.

We proceed to notice some of the MEANS by which this position has been reached. This inquiry has more than a speculative interest and importance. It has already been shown that the position which the Christian scholar now occupies is not that which has always been assigned to him; and it may be of use, in regard to the future, to be able to understand by what arrangements it has happened that so important a change has been produced. It may do something, if we trace this history, to lead us to recognise the providence of God in past times, and perhaps to lead us to see that it has not been the result of chance or of fate that this has occurred, but that there are evidences that it was the *design* of God that the best forms of literature, and the developments of science on the earth, should be identified with the Christian religion.

Enough for our purpose has been said of the ancients.

They had done their work when Christianity appeared. They had shown how far the human mind can go, under the best auspices, to find out a religion suited to the race. They had prepared the world for the most speedy propagation of the new system of religion. They had furnished models of literature to be useful in all times. The Greek had furnished a language better fitted than any other then existing, and indeed the only one then existing, to express the nicest shades of thought; to give utterance to new spiritual conceptions; to record the mysteries which had never yet been unfolded to man; to be a vehicle for the profound and clear reasoning of Paul on most abstruse subjects, the delicate practical thoughts of Peter, and the unequalled symbolical representations of John, in the most wonderful book ever composed—the Apocalypse; and the Romans had trodden down the nations, and made one great empire, and furnished facilities for carrying the new message from land to land—and then these wonderful nations, having accomplished their work, speedily made way for new combinations of power to spring up in the world.

We propose, therefore, to say no more of them. But there have been three remarkable events, or series of events, bearing on the subject before us, mainly affecting three distinct classes of mind. We propose to illustrate what may be spoken of as a single fact in regard to them. It is, that other nations have been apparently on the very verge of the inventions in the arts, and of the discoveries in the sciences which now distinguish the Christian nations; and that, in a manner which no one can explain who does not believe in a superintending Providence favourable to Christianity, the progress of these inventions and discoveries has been then arrested, so that ultimately they have passed into Christian hands. A little farther progress among those nations—an advance in discovery which there was nothing in the nature of things to

arrest, and whose arrest we know not that any one has attempted to explain by natural causes, would have placed all these discoveries and inventions in other hands, and given to other nations the eminence which Christians now have, and which they are destined ever to maintain. Had this occurred, the relation of Christianity to literature and science would have been vitally different from what it is now. Had this occurred, it would have been difficult to propagate the Christian religion at all, or to have removed idolatry and superstition from their seats by any power except miracles. We shall explain the fact by the supposition that it was the divine purpose to identify the Christian religion with the best type of mind in the world, and to send it forth in connection with the *prestige* derived from the undoubted ascendency of Christian nations in every thing fitted to elevate the race.

(1.) We begin, in the illustration, with *heathen* mind. In this illustration we might take the *whole* of the heathen mind. But it will better answer our purpose to take one portion of that mind, which will be regarded as a fair illustration of the whole, and which can be best compared, in this respect, with the progress made in Christian nations. We shall, therefore, take China. We wish to show, in order to illustrate our main thought, that, in respect to the matter before us, a great heathen people—the greatest ever gathered under one sceptre—has been just on the verge of the most useful, and the most splendid discoveries in the arts, in literature, and in science which have distinguished Christian nations, and that *when* thus on that verge, the progress of discovery has been suddenly arrested, and that the discovery has been made over to Christian nations, and is now identified with the Christian religion.

China is, in every respect, admirably adapted to the purpose of our illustration. It is the oldest nation in the world —a nation where there has been the best opportunity to develope talent; to pursue a course of steady improvement; to

strike out new inventions in the arts; to carry forward those plans that required ages to perfect them: for Assyria, and Babylon, and Macedon, and Egypt, and Media, and Rome, once its contemporaries, were, as it were, cut off in their infancy, and had comparatively little time to mature their plans. It is the most numerous people in the world now united under one government; and more numerous than any one nation has ever been; more numerous than Assyria was in the days of Ninus or Sardanapalus; more numerous than Babylon was when Nebuchadnezzar walked in his pride in his splendid capital; more numerous than the kingdom of Darius or Xerxes was when they wanted *only* the little country of Greece to make their empire universal; more numerous than the empire of Alexander was when he had *annexed* all the kingdoms of Xerxes and Darius to his own little Macedon; and more numerous than the Roman people when, coming in from the West, an unknown power in the days of Xerxes or Alexander, it swallowed up all. It has a government admirably adapted to foster genius, and to execute great and generous plans. Secure, calm, sagacious, absolute; free from internal shocks, and the danger of revolution; it can execute any of its purposes, and accomplish any of its designs. It has a climate and a soil equal to any in the world; and there is not an element of civilization that might not find its best home in China. In its own way, it has the most complete system of education in the world, and there is not a nation on earth, not even our own, where learning and talent will be so likely to be rewarded with situations of trust and power. The ambitious youth from the most remote and humble province may make his way to the capital; may stand in the presence of the emperor; may become prime minister; and in all the steps of the advancement, he may *calculate* on what he can never do in a republic swayed by popular feeling, or under a monarchy where the arbitrary will of the sovereign determines the award—on the

exact position which he may yet occupy. He can measure his steps from point to point, until he is sure, if he has talent and learning to deserve it, to stand at the very head of power. And there *is* talent in that land—talent of all orders and degrees; talent which we do not do well to despise. They who have read the state papers of Lin, in his controversy with British ambassadors, can see, and cannot fail to see, that though the *power* was in British cannon, the *argument* was with China; and that though the fortresses of the empire were dismantled, and her ports thrown open, the arguments of the Imperial commissioner were not demolished, and that the glory of Britain is in her arms, and not her logic.

Yet with these advantages, which should have placed China at the head of the world in literature and science, what has been the fact? what is now the fact, in regard to her position in this respect? We answer: the main and striking fact in regard to her is, that all inventions and sciences there proceed to a certain point, and are then, from some unknown cause, arrested, and remain *fixed* and *petrified*—often in the rudest form; that China has been on the eve of all the discoveries in science, and all the inventions in the arts, which now characterize the most advanced nations, but has been, as it were, spell-bound. She has struck out the incipient thought, but has made no use of it; she has hit on the principle, but it has remained unapplied. The elements of all that make other nations great are there, but they are not combined or applied; and for centuries the nation has made no progress. The great mind that ruled the intellect of China five hundred years before the coming of the Saviour, is the mind that rules there now—the mind of Confucius. There is no other mind in China. The national intellect is that of the great philosopher prolonged and perpetuated. There is not one of the things which they have invented or discovered which they have carried out to its practical uses, or which has been made to con-

tribute, as it might have done, to the national advancement. We may concede that they discovered the uses of the mariner's needle; or, at least, it was long known among them before it guided Columbus across the ocean; but what Chinese did it ever guide out of sight of land? What adventurous mariner of the Celestial Empire did it ever conduct forth to discover a new world? They had the art of printing, and we may concede that they had it long before the German inventor discovered it in the Western world. But, having struck out the invention in the rudest form, there it was arrested, and there it has remained. They cut their words on blocks; they have no separate types; no metal types; no presses but those of the rudest construction; and, although they cannot be ignorant of the power of this art, and of its application in other lands,—yet the Chinese inventor was spell-bound, and the first rude effort among them was as complete as the art is now. They turned their attention early to painting; and with as much skill at first as now. With the most slender knowledge of perspective—scarcely going in this beyond the paintings in the temple at Thebes, they have made no progress towards imitating the productions of Rubens or Raphael. They anticipated us in the invention of gunpowder; but in what is called the art of war, they have made no progress, and seem incapable of applying the destructive element except in the rudest form. And in astonomy, and chemistry, and anatomy; in the art of ship-building, in the implements of agriculture; in their dress, in their music, in all these they seemed to have *paused* when the first rude conception struck the mind; and among all their millions, multitudinous as the sands of the desert, there has arisen no Bacon, or Newton, or Davy, or Watt, or Liebig, or Arkwright, or Whitney, or Franklin, to move them onward in the path of discovery.

This is the fact to which we adverted. They are spell-bound. Their inventions were hardened and "set" at a certain

point. They seem to approach all that is great and glorious in science, and there they pause—as, for some reason, heathen mind has always done.

We are prepared now to appreciate, in some measure, the effect of this fact in its bearing on the point before us, in giving to Christian nations and Christian scholars, the ascendency which they now have. Suppose, then, that these discoveries begun in China, had been carried forward as they have been in Christian lands. Suppose that the press were doing there what it is doing here; and that the mariner's compass were doing there all that it is doing here; and that there were spread over that vast empire the facilities of intercommunication which now characterize our own land; and suppose that all this were connected with the forms of religion which prevail there—employed to increase the homage rendered to Confucius; or in the hands of Buddhist priests; or under the control of the Rationalists there; and that the three hundred millions of that people were sustained in their opinions by the perverted application of science, how almost hopeless would be the attempt to dislodge those forms of religion! What prospect could there be of making an impression on such a mass of cultivated mind, in favour of another system of religion? With what force would they appeal to things around them as proof that their religion had placed them at the head of the nations of the earth, and that they wanted no better system than that which had come down from the remotest ages, and which had shed the blessings of science and civilization all over their vast territory! But all these things have been arrested in their incipiency, and there they were petrified, and there they have remained ever since. China, though semi-civilized, is neither a scientific nor a literary nation; and that vast people, with all their pride, are yet to receive their sciences, and their valuable literature, and their most needed arts, from Christian nations. Does not this

look as if God *meant* that the progress of discovery under heathenism should be arrested, and that the best forms of science, of art, and of civilization, should be developed in connection with the Christian religion? If this is not so, will any philosopher explain how this *has* come to pass?

(2.) We turn to another class of mind illustrating the same truth—a class of mind better adapted to scientific and literary pursuits than that of China, and where the effect of uniting that mind with the highest forms of science and literature would have been still more disastrous. We allude to the Saracenic or Arabic mind. The thought which we wish here to set forth is, summarily, that in this case also, the progress in science, in literature, and in art, was mysteriously arrested by an influence that no man can explain who did not believe at the same time in a Providence, and in the truth of the Christian religion, and arrested *in order* that the best forms of science, of civilization, and of art, should be developed in connection with Christianity. The Arabian was on the verge of the most splendid discoveries which have marked our own age, and of making his own country the seat of science in all coming times; and, if this had not been arrested, on the lands of the religion of Islam the sun of science would have risen soon to the meridian, and have stood there in full-orbed glory, to go down no more.

A few well-known circumstances in the history of that remarkable people, illustrating the prospect that at one time the empire of the world, and the empire of science, would pass into their hands, will show what we mean.

They had, at one time, the prospect of subduing the world to their arms, and of extending their religion over Europe as they had already done over a large part of Asia and Africa. Schlegel, in his Philosophy of History, calls the Saracenic invasion, "that mighty Arabian conflagration whose flames were scattered over the terrified globe by the sons of the desert."

No one can doubt that the Saracens, zealously devoted to their own religion, aimed to make it universal; and no one can doubt that this *would* have occurred, if, in the eternal councils, it had not been determined that it should not be. Let us look a moment and see how near this was to being accomplished. Let one place himself in imagination on some eminence, and take in the limits of that vast Saracenic Empire in the eighth century of the Christian era. Let him look to the East. Syria, Mesopotamia, Persia, Arabia, are all under the sway of the Saracens—and the conquering crescent is over them all. Bozra, Damascus, Heliopolis, Jerusalem, Aleppo, and Antioch, have all fallen. Let him look over the South—over Egypt, Lybia, Africa, Numidia, and Mauritania. The Roman sceptre has long since departed. The empire of the Vandals has disappeared. Cairo, Memphis, and Carthage have fallen, and where once Augustine and Cyprian expounded the oracles of God, Mohammedan doctors enforce the doctrines of the Koran; and where once in the times of Cyprian there were thirty thousand Christian churches, stand unnumbered multitudes of Mohammedan mosques. Let him look to the West. Once the Romans reigned there; and there the Goths set up their dominions. But Roderic, the last of the Goths, has fallen. The Christian fugitives are driven into the fastnesses of the northern mountains. The splendid Alhambra rises in Spain, and all over that beautiful and fertile land are scattered the palaces, the mosques, and the minarets of Saracen victors. Let him look to the North. It was still, indeed, unsubdued. But the plans of the caliphs extended there also. "The whole southern part of the Roman Empire," say they, "is subdued; the North, too, must fall. By two routes our armies must pursue their victorious course. From Spain, France must be assailed; and then the Belgians, and Britain, and Germany. From the East, Constantinople must be taken, and Thrace, and Macedonia, and Greece, and Hungary; and

then from all quarters must we concentrate on Italy." The plan was that the armies of the East and the West should meet, and then, turning to the South, that Rome should be overwhelmed. And there was every human probability of the success of the plan. "A victorious line of march," says Gibbon, "had been prolonged above a thousand miles, from the rock of Gibraltar to the bank of the Loire; the repetition of an equal space would have carried the Saracens to the confines of Poland, and the Highlands of Scotland. The Rhine is not more impassable than the Nile or the Euphrates, and the Arabian fleet might have sailed without a naval combat into the mouth of the Thames. Perhaps the interpretation of the Koran would now be taught in the schools of Oxford, and her pulpits might demonstrate to a circumcised people the sanctity and truth of the revelations of Mahomet."*

But there was another aspect in reference to this, more fearful than the mere prospect of the subjugation of Europe to the Arabian arms. There was at that time at least an *equal* prospect that the whole empire of science would remain in the hands of the Saracens, and that all its developments would be in connection with the literature of the Koran, and that the position of the Mohammedan scholar would be that which the Christian scholar now holds. The Saracens are by nature an intellectual race, and are now, in the judgment of the leading Missionary Boards, in this respect the first people of Western Asia. Differing somewhat indeed from the Chinese in this respect, in the points already adverted to, and being a race of people far better qualified to push the discoveries of science than they are, they had nevertheless struck on some of the most splendid discoveries that the world has seen, and we even yet wonder *why* it was that they paused, and left the application of those discoveries to Christians. They gave us

* Decline and Fall, iii. 467, seq. Harper's Edition.

the numerical figures, which we use in our mathematical calculations. They gave us algebra; what prevented its application among them in all the wide results of fluxions? Why was not some Newton born in Arabia? They taught the first elements of chemistry; why did not Black, or Priestley, or Davy appear, to carry out those principles? To the Arabians we owe the manufacture of paper from cotton and linen. What prevented their making the use of it which Christian nations now do? The names of the stars on our celestial globes are Arabic names; why did no Kepler, or Brahe, or Newton, or Herschell, rise there to tell us the laws of their motions, their magnitudes, and their distances? They had the knowledge of gunpowder; why was it never applied as it has been in European warfare? They had a beautiful, a copious, a finished language—a language perfectly fitted for all purposes of science, philosophy, and poetry, while not one of the barbarous provincial languages which succeeded the Latin, was at all fit for any such purpose. They were skilled in architecture, for how few edifices more splendid than the Alhambra has the world even now to boast of?

To this is to be added the undoubted fact, that they were then at the head of the literary world. The second of the Abassides founded Bagdad, and soon made it at once the most splendid, and the most literary city of the East. The ambassadors of the caliphs at Constantinople collected the volumes of Grecian learning, which were translated by the most skilful interpreters. Almanzor invited learned men of all nations to his court; collected from them the names of celebrated authors and works in the Greek, Syriac, and Persian languages; caused journeys to be undertaken, and immense numbers of them to be secured. The impulse was felt throughout the Saracen Empire. In the words of Sismondi, "In all parts, in every town, schools, academies, and colleges were established, from which many learned men proceeded." "Bagdad was the

centre, but Bassora and Cufa almost equalled her in reputation, learned men, and poets. Balkh, Ispahan, and Samarcand, were equally the homes of science. In Alexandria, Cairo, Fez, and Morocco, were schools and colleges, magnificent buildings, and extensive libraries, which preserved to Europe a number of precious volumes which had been lost in other places."

But it was Spain more particularly that was the seat of Arabic learning. In the words of Sismondi, "It was there that it shone with superior brightness, and made its most rapid progress. Cordova, Granada, Seville, and the other cities of the Peninsula, rivalled one another in the magnificence of their schools, their colleges, their academies, their libraries. In various cities of Spain, seventy libraries were opened for the instruction of the public, at a period when all the rest of Europe, without books, without learning, and without cultivation, was plunged in most disgraceful ignorance. The number of Arabic authors which Spain produced was so prodigious, that many Arabian bibliographers wrote learned treatises on the authors born in particular towns—as Seville, Valencia, or Cordova; or on those who devoted themselves to a particular branch of study—as philosophy, medicine, and more especially poetry." "The period of this literary cultivation," says our own countryman, Prescott, "reached far into the fourteenth century, and may be said to have equalled in duration that of any other literature, ancient or modern."*

At that period, the tendency, the probability was, that all the great discoveries in science and the arts would be struck out by the followers of Mohammed, and that they would at

* For many of the details in this notice of Arabic literature, we are indebted to an article by Rev. Edward Beecher, D.D., Biblical Repository, January, 1848.

the same time place themselves at the head of the nations in science, in arts, in political power, and in arms. Yet this career was checked; and from these impending dangers by their arms, and from the prospect of this ascendency in science, the world was delivered. In the East, the progress of conquest was arrested by the Greek fire; in the West, by the valour of Charles Martel. The plans of the caliphs were frustrated; the tide of conquest was rolled back; the anticipated junction of the armies of the East and the West never occurred; and the dominion in political power and in science passed into other hands. Yet we can hardly help pausing to reflect what a different destiny would have awaited mankind if the plans of the Mussulman had succeeded, and the discoveries which he had commenced in science had been pushed a little farther. What Gibbon, in a quotation already made, said might have been anticipated, would have occurred, when "the interpretation of the Koran might have been taught in the schools of Oxford, and her pulpits might have demonstrated to a circumcised people, the sanctity and truth of the revelations of Mahomet." And what then would have been the effect in any attempt to propagate Christianity among the followers of the Prophet? How could Christians then hope to compete with the religion of the Koran? How hope to introduce a better system? Suppose the present hundred and twenty millions of believers in the Koran had been in possession of our science, our literature, our arts; suppose that they were in the possession of all the results of science in agriculture, chemistry, navigation, intercommunication by land and sea, and in domestic life; suppose in literature they had placed themselves where Christian nations now are, how next to hopeless would be the attempt to introduce among them a purer and a better faith. With their beautiful, philosophical language; with their high order of talent; with their zeal and devotion to any cause which they embrace; with their union

in the faith; with their belief that their religion might be propagated, and consequently that all other religions may be resisted by the sword, what a formidable front would the Mussulman people present to any effort to spread among them the principles of our faith, and how distant, if not hopeless, would have been the conversion of the world to the Saviour!

God rules among the nations. He checks them at his pleasure, alike in the career of conquest, in science, and in the arts. He designed that these sciences should receive their form and consummation on Christian soils, and the splendid career of the Arabian was arrested, and the empire of science was transferred to Europe and America.

(3.) We notice a third fact in reference to the course of events which has given to the Christian scholar his present position. It is that Christianity and science at present are connected with the best type of mind in the world—the form best adapted to carry forth their combined influence over the nations. We mean, in general, that great class of mind known as the Teutonic mind, and especially the Anglo-Saxon mind. We have already adverted to this point, and it would be interesting to trace the course of events in this respect on a wider scale than has been done, and to see how, one after another, the true religion has somehow detached itself from certain forms of mind, leaving only a debased and miserable superstition; and how, as already in part noticed, the incipient sciences have done the same thing, until they are now found influencing a single portion of the mind of the world, and receiving their best developments there. That mind, in its various branches, the most remarkable that the world has seen, is spreading its influence over all the nations. It is now the most philosophic, profound, learned, sagacious, and enterprising of all minds. It early showed, when it became known to Europe, a singular affinity, if we may be allowed the expression, with Christianity; and the purest forms of Christianity

have been manifested in connection with it. But all that is necessary to be said on this point further may be comprised in two very brief statements. One is, that if on a map of the world, one should undertake to mark by bright colours the portions of the globe most distinguished for literature and science, he would be surprised to find with what accuracy he was designating the places where that order of mind is to be found, and at the same time surprised to find how nearly he marked out the limits where the Protestant faith prevails. The other is, that it is *that* form of mind that is now actively employed in producing all the great changes in the world. But on these points, we have no space to enlarge.

We proceed to notice the advantages which the facts above illustrated give to one entering on life in this age of the world. There are three thoughts which we will suggest.

The first is, that mind is *worth* more now than it has been at any former period of the world. It can be turned to better account; it is coming more and more to be appreciated. In a Christian community, in the circumstances which we have been illustrating, it is worth far more than it is in Turkey, in Persia, in China, in Arabia, in Africa; far more than it was in ancient Egypt, Assyria, Greece, or Rome; far more than it was in the days of Thomas Aquinas, Abelard, and Duns Scotus. Of what value comparatively was mind when the Pyramids were built? Of what value was it in the dark ages of Europe? We pity a monk in his cell in the dark ages; and yet admire his industry, and his efforts to make something of himself. Many such a man, amid the general indolence and corruption of those institutions, had true piety, and desired to serve God. He had industry, too; for his condition prompted him to find out something to do, just as now the dreadful loneliness and wretchedness of solitary imprisonment prompt the convict to plead for something to do. But what could the monk do? How could he employ his mind? If he busied himself with

retorts and crucibles, he was in danger of impinging on some settled article of faith, and exposing himself to the terrors of excommunication, or to the rack. There were things that he could do, and did do, and the world should be thankful that he was not idle, while at the same time we feel that *mind* then was of little value. He could count his beads; he could visit the tomb of a saint—employments useless to the *world*. But he could also, with slow and patient toil, transcribe the sacred Scriptures,—ruling his parchment with great exactness; dividing his words with particular care; rewriting the whole if a word had been written wrong; illuminating certain parts of the manuscript, and giving brilliancy to certain letters. That was employment; it was pious and useful employment, and we should not despise what he did. But go into the rooms of the Bible Society. In a single hour, the press, attended by two or three boys, will throw off far more than the patient monk could transcribe by the labours of his whole life, and mind has been rescued in this way from humble drudgery for higher and more important ends. So every invention in a machine does it. The boy that by the application of a string in a steam engine, discovered the principle of the "eccentric," and gave himself time to play, instead of working the valve by his hand, released thousands of boys, not for play but for other employments. The invention of Whitney relieved millions from the laborious and slow process of picking the seeds out of cotton, that they might be engaged for other purposes. The invention of Arkwright relieved millions of females from the wheel and the distaff, that they might have time for the cultivation of the mind, and the pursuits of benevolence. The steam-mill for sawing marble, will do the work as well as immortal man; and it releases mind from a mere mechanical employment, for its higher and nobler functions. The machine which makes a nail, a button, a shoe-peg, an adze, a hammer, is doing the work which *mind* must otherwise have

much more slowly done, and gives, by all the facility by which it is done, an augmented value to the soul.

There never was a period of the world when mind was *worth* as much as it is now. In consequence, there never was a period of so much responsibility, or when there was so little excuse for indolence and supineness. The reason for monasteries, and nunneries, and for indolence in all forms, has passed away. Shame on the educated mind that can find nothing to do! Shame on the spirit which would found monasteries and nunneries in this age and in this land!

The second thing to which we advert is, that mind now has higher *advantages* in accomplishing the purposes of benevolence, than at any former period of the world.

The facts to which we have called attention, give to Christian scholars an inestimable advantage in endeavouring to diffuse their religion around the world. For the heathen are beginning to see the superiority of Christian nations; beginning to feel, that somehow the Christian religion is connected, more than others, with all that tends to purify, elevate, and adorn society. The *prestige* is with us. The presumption is spreading farther and farther, that the same form of religion is desirable also for other people; that it would accomplish among them what it has done for us; and that the religion has all the evidence which these facts furnish—that it is from God. A Brahmin, forbidden by his religion to destroy life, was directed by a missionary to look through a microscope, and see the multitudes of living things in the water that he drank, and on the leaf, and to reflect how many lives were sacrificed every time he drank, and at every tread of his foot. Indignantly he seized the instrument and dashed it to the earth, for it had overturned the authority of all his sacred books, and all his religion. "May God curse all infidels and their works!" said the deputy of the Cadi in Mosul; "what comes from their hands is of Satan; it has pleased the Al-

mighty to let them be more powerful and ingenious than the true believers in this world, that their punishment, and the reward of the faithful may be greater in the next."* The *fact* of the superiority of Christians he could not deny, but his way of accounting for it is not that which will long prevail in the world.

The truth is, that wherever among barbarous tribes, or nations half civilized, the Christian scholar chooses now to go, the *presumption* goes before him that in all that contributes to the progress of society and the welfare of the race, he is superior to those to whom he goes. Every vessel that goes from a Christian to a heathen port; every steamship that ploughs the ocean, is an important agent in showing the superiority of the Christian religion to all other religions, and facilitating the reception of the message of salvation which the Christian missionary bears to distant shores. There is science making use of the magnetic needle; looking with unerring accuracy to the stars; triumphing over winds and waves; and directing civilized men to a distant land. There, too, may be science conveying a printing-press to some barbarous clime; bearing the telescope, the quadrant, the safety-lamp, the cotton-gin to some distant country; and there, too, conveyed by the triumphs of science across the deep, is the herald of salvation borne onward to tell the nations of a common Saviour, and a common heaven. Wherever, therefore, one goes from a Christian land to any other part of the world, he goes preceded by the presumption that he occupies a higher grade in civilization, in refinement, and in art, than those to which he goes, and is in possession of that which may be of immense advantage to every part of the world. This remark is of special importance as applicable to the Christian missionary. In the highest sense, and in every sense, he goes out as *an instructor*—prepared to carry out in

* Layard's Ruins of Nineveh, i. 130.

all respects the injunction of his Saviour, "Go, therefore, and *teach* all nations."

Our last thought is, that the world is growing *better* than it was. It is better than it was in the times when Greece and Rome flourished; than it was in the times of the Christian fathers; than it was when councils were held at Carthage, at Nice, at Clermont; than it was in the days of chivalry; than it was in the times of Elizabeth or James; than it was in the days of the Pilgrims; than it was a quarter of a century ago. There are those who do not believe this; and there is a class of orators and writers—usually old men—who are always endeavouring to prove that things are growing worse. This kind of argument and gloomy foreboding we always expect to find among those who are too indolent to keep up with the march of the world; among those who are conscious of a waning spiritual power; among those who, by neglecting to improve themselves, have lost their influence, and who see others gaining the ascendency; and often among those who have advanced far in the journey of life. The belief that the world is growing worse, is frequently among the first indications of approaching age, and it is one of the sadnesses of that condition of life, that they who are becoming old see around them only evidences of deterioration and decay, and that their minds are embittered by contrasting those evidences of decay with the brighter things which the world possessed when they were young. We would have every man adopt it as a settled truth to be adhered to all along his journey of life; in all times of change, and disappointment, and sorrow; when the sun shines, and when clouds come over the sky; when in the hey-day of youth, in the soberness of middle life, and when the shades begin to lengthen; when he goes forth from college halls on the voyage of life, and when near its close he looks back over the career which he has run; in the church, or in the state;

in reference to our own country, and in reference to all lands, that the world is growing better—that our own country is making advances—that the church is increasing in numbers, in purity, and in knowledge—and that there is a sure and steady progress toward the universal triumph of Christianity, and of civil and religious liberty.

XII.

*The Progress and Tendency of Science.**

MR. PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN OF THE SOCIETY:—

THE subject on which we propose to address you at this time is, THE PROGRESS AND TENDENCY OF SCIENCE. It cannot be new to you to go over the history of science; but it may be useful to contemplate some of the achievements which it has made, and, from the vantage-ground which we have gained, to contemplate some of the struggles of the past, and to look on the precise position which we occupy as we enter on public life. It is much to know what has been done; it is much to know where we can most successfully direct our efforts in future years.

Using the word SCIENCE in its widest signification, our aim will be to make some suggestions on its former history, and on its tendency in regard to some of the great questions which pertain to the welfare of man.

The difference between man in a state of nature and in a state of advanced science, is almost as great as that between distinct orders of beings. In the one case, the most striking feature pertaining to the subject now before us is, that every thing is an object of wonder. The visible world is to him filled with prodigies, and the invisible world with imaginary beings. Objects and events now familiar to *us* from our childhood, and which to us create no apprehension, fill *his* mind

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* An oration delivered before the Connecticut Alpha of Phi Beta Kappa, at New Haven, August 18, 1840.

with dread and amazement. Every new event becomes a prodigy to him, whose cause he knows not, and whose tendency he has no means of anticipating. Disease attacks him from causes which he does not understand, and carries its fearful desolations through his frame in a manner which he can neither trace nor retard. The thunder rolls, and the lightning plays in the sky or rives the oak, in a manner which he cannot comprehend, and by an invisible influence which he cannot explain; and he learns to look upon a dark cloud without alarm, (if he ever does,) not because he understands the phenomena, but from the fact that he often witnesses these terrific wonders without personal injury. An earthquake or a volcano is equally an object of dread whose cause is unknown. An eclipse is a prodigy. He knows not when to anticipate it; he knows not its cause; he knows not what is its design; but as it sheds

> "Disastrous twilight
> O'er half the nations, and, with fear of change,
> Perplexes monarchs,"

it seems to him to be a proof of the anger of the gods, and he trembles with alarm.

To his view, the stars of night shine with unmeaning splendour, or they merely excite inquiry whether they exert an occult influence over the fates of men. On land, unacquainted with the causes of the changes which he witnesses; seeing around him revolutions which indicate the presence of some invisible being; or meeting events everywhere which to him are prodigies, he stands alarmed and trembling amid these wonders. To him the invisible world becomes soon peopled with mysterious beings of malignant influence. Numerous orders of genii and gods are believed to preside over all things. The dead of past times are supposed to reappear and to speak to men with a shrill and fearful voice. Thus Homer, speaking of the shade of Patroclus, says:—

"He said, and with his longing arms essayed
In vain to grasp the visionary shade;
Like a thin smoke he sees the spirit fly,
And hears a feeble, lamentable cry."

"This night, my friend, so late in battle lost,
Stood at my side a pensive, *plaintive ghost.*"

The planets are believed to preside over the birth and the destiny of man; and it becomes the grand aim to ward off malignant invisible influences, and to study the aspects of the stars, and to deprecate the wrath of imaginary beings. If from land he ventures out upon the waters, he keeps his eye upon the sun and the stars; anchors at night in some friendly bay; creeps timidly along the shore; and if in a storm he is driven from the sight of land, he gives himself up to despair.

But when science has shed its light on the human mind, how changed the scene! How changed the man! Each one of the objects which once affrighted him takes its place among the things known to be adapted to promote his welfare, and to furnish him happiness and security. He unpeoples the invisible world of its imaginary beings, and begins to examine the causes of the changes around him; and each new discovery makes him more confident of his own powers, and of his own safety. The eclipse, once a prodigy, is now understood, predicted, and looked at without dismay. He no longer turns pale at its approach, but examines it with reference to great questions of navigation and of astronomy. The changes in the world around him, which he attributed to some secret and malign influence of beings that are unseen, he traces to their proper causes, and makes them tributary to his comfort. No longer creeping along the shore, he ventures out on the vast ocean; makes the stars his guide; penetrates unknown seas; and encounters the storms of the deep, and directs his way with unerring precision to distant lands. The elements he

subjects to his control; and on every hand innumerable agents rise up with more than the precision, and much more than the power of living beings, to aid him in the accomplishment of his purposes. Disease he learns to meet by the aid of science; danger he wards off by science; he makes war by science; and he examines the heavens and the earth, the mineral, the vegetable, and the animal kingdoms, to make all tributary to the expansion of his mental powers, and to the advancement of society.

Between man, therefore, in a state of barbarism, and man when aided by the powers which science has placed at his disposal, there is nearly all the difference which we are accustomed to regard as characteristic of different orders of intelligences. This difference *we* are prone to forget, for at our birth we have been introduced into all the benefits which have resulted from the scientific discoveries of past times. We have not been witnesses of the slow advances which science has made, of its struggles and its conflicts to secure the ascendency of one scientific principle, and the slowness with which such a principle becomes undisputed, and is allowed to exert its appropriate influence on the welfare of society. To feel this, we must throw ourselves in fancy into something like the condition of the fabled Seven Sleepers,* and let age roll on after age while we are unconscious, till we wake as they did, surrounded by new generations of men, and find the rude arts of life laid aside, and civilization and science shedding their pure beams around us. "We imperceptibly advance," says Gibbon, "from youth to age without observing the gradual, but incessant changes in human affairs; and even in our larger experience of history, the imagination is accustomed, by a perpetual series of causes and effects, to unite the most distant revolutions. But if the interval between two

* Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire ch. xxiii.

memorable periods could be instantly annihilated; if it were possible, after a momentary slumber of two hundred years, to display the new world to the eyes of a spectator who retained a lively and recent impression of the old, his surprise and his reflections would furnish the pleasing subject of a philosophical romance." We do not say that the difference is to be traced wholly to science. We do not believe that it is. We doubt not laws, and literature, and virtue, and pure religion contribute much to this change, and to the advancement of the species. But no one can doubt that science also has contributed much to produce this change; and that it is destined still to produce more important revolutions in the affairs of men.

Our own country has furnished the most striking illustrations of this difference which, perhaps, the world has ever witnessed. This vast territory, when our fathers came to these shores, was trod by a race of men ignorant of the very elements of science. A foreign race, guided by science, came across the ocean, prepared to level the vast forests; to build cities and towns; to apply scientific principles to the cultivation of the soil and the navigation of the streams; armed with the power of exterminating their foes by weapons which science had put into their hands, and appearing to the American savage as belonging to a superior order of beings. How few were the common sympathies between the red man and his invader! How soon has he vanished before the power of him who had learned to subject the elements to his conrtol. A few linger among us—remnants of much-injured tribes of men—as illustrations of this difference. Still they build no cities; they calculate no eclipses; they construct no ships, and no bridges; they make no use of the mariner's needle; they apply no principles of science to the cultivation of the soil, or to the removal of disease; they people still the invisible world with imaginary beings; and though on the streams where they once

fished, and over their fathers' graves, science has strewed its blessings, yet the red man himself has turned away toward the setting sun; and though he trembles at the power, yet he despises the arts and the religion of his invader. He is still a savage, whether he lingers pensively around his fathers' graves, or heaves a deep-drawn sigh as he looks on the ample plains where in the elasticity of savage life he pursued the game of the forest; or whether forced away by national injustice, and by the violation of compacts, he turns his back sullenly on all those fair lands, and goes with "solitary step and slow" to the setting sun to lie down and die. He builds no steamboat, and lays down no railroad to help him in his journey; he marks his way by the moss on the trees rather than by the compass; he bears with him no telescope to tell him what are the stars that shine upon his nightly path.

The history of the progress of science remains yet, to a large extent, unwritten. We have abundant records of war, and of the development of the bad passions of men; but few and brief are the chronicles by which we can trace the advancement of man from a state of savage barbarity to a condition of civilization and refinement. Histories of the past, fabled and true, we have in abundance; but the historian, attracted by the glitter of military renown, has forgotten to record the things which most deeply and permanently affect the destiny of men. Yet, in this interesting history, there are some points which are understood, and we are able to mark some great epochs in the advancement from a state of barbarism to the present condition of the scientific world. To a few of those points, chiefly with reference to the most philosophic and scientific nations of antiquity, it may be interesting briefly to refer.

The first point relates to the OBJECTS of science, or the purposes at which scientific investigation aims. There are two ways of attempting to understand the works of nature, or of

ascertaining the relation and properties of things. One is, for the philosopher to sit down in his closet, or walk in his grove, and attempt to frame in his own mind a plan of what nature *ought* to be; the other to become the simple *interpreter* of nature, and to tell what she *is*. The one attempts, on the basis of a few facts imperfectly ascertained, isolated in their character, and little understood in their connections, to frame a theory that shall account for all the facts in the universe, and on a bed of Procrustes, to reduce all facts to the proper dimensions; the other approaches the works of creation with the spirit of a child, and humbly sits down at their feet. The former course was the most difficult, the least obvious, and was capable of giving the longest and most profound employment to the intellect, and would most effectually separate philosophers from the rest of mankind, and produce what men of philosophic temperament have commonly sought—the honours of *caste*—an elevation above the millions of humbler mortals at their feet. The most striking difference in science as understood by the ancients and the moderns relates to this point; and to the modern views of the *object* of science can be traced nearly all the advances which it has made. The difference between Bacon and Plato; between medical science now and medical science in ancient times; between the physical sciences now and in former times, is to be traced, more than to any thing else, to this. Socrates was almost the only man in antiquity who seems to have been free from the prevailing inclination to mere speculation; and *his* instructions related almost wholly to religion and morals. Until the time of Bacon, the true object of science was unknown; and the profound sentiment with which he opens the Novum Organum was as new as it was beautiful in the philosophic world. *Man, the minister and interpreter of nature, can do and understand only so much about the order of nature as he has*

*observed; neither does he know more, nor can he.** Never was there a more comprehensive maxim, or one more fitted to revolutionize all the prevalent systems of philosophy. And this single aphorism contains the line of distinction between all modern and ancient science. "The ultimate object of the sciences," says Bacon, "has by no one heretofore been well defined."† "The greatest of all errors," he says, "consists in losing sight of the ultimate objects of science."‡ The end proposed by science, according to him, is to labour "for the comfort of mankind;"§ it is to "work effectively for the purpose of lightening the annoyances of human life."‖ "It is," says he, to "enrich the human race with new discoveries and possessions."¶

This was the aim of Bacon; this is the object of modern science; an object unknown, or deemed degrading, in all the ancient philosophic world. The grand distinction between ancient and modern philosophy is, that the latter aims at utility and progress; the former disdained to be useful. The former was concerned in theories of perfection; in ideal schemes; in profound speculation; but it scorned to be connected with any thing that should minister to the actual comfort of human beings. "Once, indeed, Posidonius, a distinguished writer of the age of Cicero and of Cæsar, so far forgot himself as to enumerate among the humbler blessings which

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* Homo, naturæ minister et interpres, tantum facit et intelligit, quantum de naturæ ordine, re vel mente observaverit; nec amplius scit, aut potest.

† Finis scientiarum a nemine adhuc bene positus est. Novum Organum, lib. i. aph. 81.

‡ Omnium gravissimus error in deviatione ab ultimo doctrinarum fine consistit. De Aug. lib. i.

§ Commodis humanis inservire. De Aug. lib. vii. cap. 1.

‖ Efficaciter operari ad sublevanda vitæ humanæ incommoda. De Aug. lib. ii. cap. 2.

¶ Dotare vitam humanam novis inventis et copiis. Novum Organum, lib. i. aph. 81.

mankind owed to philosophy, the discovery of the principle of the arch, and the introduction of the use of the metals. This eulogy was considered as an affront, and was taken up with proper spirit. Seneca vehemently disclaims these insulting compliments.* According to him, philosophy has nothing to do with teaching men to rear arched roofs over their heads. The true philosopher does not care whether he has an arched roof or any roof. Philosophy has nothing to do with teaching men the use of metals. She teaches us to be independent of all material substances, and of all mechanical contrivances. To impute to a philosopher any share in the invention of a plough, a ship, or a mill, is an insult. 'In my own time,' says Seneca, 'there have been inventions of this sort; transparent windows; tubes for diffusing warmth through all the parts of a building; short-hand, which has been carried to such perfection that a writer can keep pace with the most rapid speaker. But the invention of such things is drudgery for the lowest slaves. Philosophy lies deeper. It is not her office to teach men how to use their hands. The object of her lessons is to form the soul. We shall next be told,' he adds, 'that the first shoemaker was a philosopher.'"†

From this view of the design of philosophy; this belief that the philosopher must be a man of different *caste* from the rest of mankind; that it was beneath him to be engaged in devising means for promoting the happiness, and augmenting the power of men, we are to trace nearly the whole difference between the science of the ancients and the moderns. Abundant proofs, indeed, are furnished that the men engaged in such pursuits were not inferior in intellectual endowments to any who have since investigated the works of God. Incomparable specimens of the dialectical and the rhetorical arts are to be found in their writings. But when we look for something

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* Epis. 90. † Macaulay. Article on Bacon.

more, we are forced to say with Bacon, that this philosophy was neither "a vineyard nor an olive-ground, but an intricate wood of briars and thistles, from which those who lost themselves in it brought back many scratches and no food."* It has been well said, "the ancient philosophy was a treadmill, not a path. It was made up of revolving questions; of controversies which were always beginning again. It was a contrivance for having much exertion and no progress. The mind, accordingly, instead of marching, marked time."† There was no "accumulation" of truth; no advance in investigating the works of nature; few even of the simple contrivances which the humblest principles of science now have enabled us to originate.

This will account for the fact, otherwise so inexplicable, that so few scientific improvements are found in the ancient nations. We go to Egypt, the parent of civilization, of learning, and of science. But what has ever been found there in regard to the sciences that would entitle her to the very lowest place in our schools? While we admire the monuments of her power; while we stand gazing with amazement on her pyramids; or while we wander among the broken columns of Thebes and Beni Hassan, we pause and ask, Where are the monuments of her science? Unless it were in the power of moving immense masses of stone to be employed in rearing useless piles; or of fixing colours in plaster and stone to endure for ages; or in the art of making and staining glass, never used by them for any important purpose, the whole of that wonderful land may be traversed without meeting a solitary memorial that shows that she would now be respectable in science. Of what use was it to the world to construct her pyramids, her obelisks, her sphynxes, her labyrinths? Of what use that she

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* Novum Organum, lib. i. aph. 73.

† Review of Bacon, as quoted above.

had the art of embalming for future times all her dead, and of peopling the earth beneath her with the preserved forms of her departed people? Her most magnificent works were the playthings of kings, fit tombs of monarchs whose genius and ambition could be satisfied by seeking immortality there; while the great mass of intellect grovelled in the most abject ignorance, and only lived to accomplish what we do now much better by the steam-engine.*

We are not less struck with the absence of the plainest principles of science in Greece and Rome. We would not undervalue their classic learning; we would not have it banished from the schools. We would not have its study diminished. We would have it loved and studied as long as the walls of a college shall adorn our land, and as long as the spire of a Christian temple shall point to heaven; and we believe it will be. To that study we owe much of whatever usefulness and skill we may have in any of the professions of life; and as

* "As far as we can judge from the unparalleled number and gigantic dimensions of the temples, palaces, gateways, alleys of sphynxes, and cemeteries that cover the site and fill up the environs of Egyptian Thebes, the resources of the monarchs who made it their residence must have exceeded those of the Roman Cæsars when the world obeyed their sceptre. But, when we inquire after the influence of this mighty monarchy on the welfare of the human race; when we ask for the lights of humanity that adorned its annals, for the teachers of truth, the discoverers of science, the champions of virtue, the statesmen, the legislators, the friends of man, it is all a dreary blank. Not one bright name is preserved in their history; not one great or generous deed, if ever performed, has escaped from oblivion; not a word ever uttered or written by the myriads of rational beings, the lords or the subjects of this mighty empire, has been embalmed in the memory of mankind. A beam of light from the genius of a modern French scholar, cast upon the sculptured sides of obelisks and temples, has redeemed the names and titles of forgotten Pharaohs from ages of oblivion; but no moral Champollion can pour a transforming ray into the essential character of the Egyptian monarchy, and make it aught else than one unbroken record of superstition, ignorance, and slavery."—*Gov. Edward Everett's Memoir of Mr. John Lowell, Jr.*

long as liberty and religion endure, the academic grove will be loved as well as the sweet retreats of piety; and they who fill the professions, and adorn the various departments of public life, as well as they who preside in our seminaries of learning, will delight to revisit the land of classic Greece, as well as the land which the prophets trod. Yet we cannot but be struck with the almost total want, in the classic remains of antiquity, of any very valuable explanations of even the most common phenomena of nature. What a conception, far, far beyond the loftiest thoughts of antiquity, is presented by the simplest truths of modern astronomy! Though this science among the Persians, the Chaldeans, and the Greeks, was that to which most attention had been paid, yet to what did it amount? To theories involved, unintelligible, and undemonstrated about the *possible* order of the movements of the heavenly bodies; to the formation, with infinite care, of *pictures* of the heavens —arranging the stars into constellations, and giving them outlines having a fanciful resemblance to some object among animals or reptiles; to a vague and indeterminate supposition of some imaginary influence which the planets exerted over the destinies of individuals and nations. What was more obvious in the healing art than to approach the human frame, and to examine it by dissection? Yet among all the ancients this was never done. What more plain than to collect *facts* about diseases, and to arrange them by patient induction, and from the science of physiology, and the recorded *facts*, to attempt to *cure* the sick? Yet the whole of the ancient science of medicine consisted, so far as it was practised at all, in attempting to *parry* and ward off the attack of disease, and was a stranger to the art of restoration. And even the whole science of medicine, in the view of philosophers, was of very disputable advantage. Plato, in his Republic, did not object, indeed, to quick cures for acute disorders, or for injuries produced by accidents. But the art which resists the slow sap of a chronic

disease; which repairs frames enervated and exhausted by indulgence; which mitigates the natural punishment of the sensualist, had no share in his esteem. A life protracted by medical skill he pronounced to be a lingering death. And as to those who had bad constitutions, why let them die: the sooner the better. The best thing that can happen to such men, is to have them die at once.*

One of the most obvious, and, indeed, unaccountable instances of the want of science in antiquity, related to the simplest laws of hydrostatics. The aqueducts of Rome and Athens, and indeed of all ancient cities and towns, are probably among the most striking monuments on earth of an entire ignorance of some of the simplest laws of science among people so refined and intelligent as they are acknowledged to have been. So amazing has it appeared that one of the simplest laws of hydrostatics should be unknown to them, that a reason has been sought in a desire of magnificence and splendour to account for such vast expenditures in supplying their cities with water. We are struck with the same thing in the mechanic arts. The application of water to turn a mill, a thing so obvious to us, is not known to have ever been accomplished at all in Greece, and was unknown in Rome till near the age of Augustus. The propulsion of the saw by any other power than the hand, was a novelty in England so late as the sixteenth century. Nothing like the *pump* —an instrument so obvious to us—was known to any of the ancient nations.†

These remarks might be extended to almost any length. But there is not time to go further into this subject. There are two or three principles in the progress of science which may be here just adverted to. One is, that in the obscure

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* Republic, book iii. Quoted in the review of Bacon above.

† Webster's Lecture before the Mechanics' Institution.

records of the past, we sometimes see a single truth, stricken out by some splendid genius, that seems long to stand alone, like a solitary star in a night overcast with clouds. It may shed its rays on an entire generation, and be all that shall distinguish the memory of the times or the man. It may gleam awhile by itself in the darkness of the night, and then perhaps it shall appear to sink away, like the last star that shone through broken clouds, and all shall again be night. Or if I may be allowed to amplify this figure, one truth after another may seem successively to gleam alone, like a single star, and then be lost in the overcast heavens, until some man like Bacon or Newton, as with a magic wand, shall scatter those clouds, and reveal those long-forgotten truths, having taken their place in brilliant systems and constellations. So Copernicus disclosed the great truth pertaining to the system of astronomy which now bears his name, and then for ages it died away as behind a thick cloud. Thus also the idea of propelling vessels by steam was advanced, and a patent secured by Jonathan Hulls, in London, in 1737; but for almost a century was that idea obscured, and in danger of being lost to mankind, till Fulton revived it, and by his genius covered half the waters of the world with vessels of this description. So many a successive truth was stricken out by the Arabian chemist; obscured again in the long night of ages; and again, in the hands of men like Davy, associated with other truths new discovered, those old and new truths are placed near each other, and pour down their mingled beams, like the milky way, from the glorious firmament of science;—truths, like the stars, not less beautiful because the light of many is blended into one. It is one of the most interesting facts in the progress of science, that almost every great and central truth which we now possess has given immortality to some one of the most gifted of the species; perhaps has cost the life of some illustrious martyr. Every truth in geography, in chemistry,

in political science, in astronomy, as well as in religion, has thus cost perhaps a most valuable life, or given immortality to some illustrious name. To discover it, foreign lands have been visited by men like Pythagoras; deserts have been traversed; sleepless nights have been passed; years have been consumed in the laboratory; until perhaps the single truth that was to give immortality to the man has shone forth with established lustre. Galileo spent his life to perfect the telescope, and was rewarded in a dungeon; Harvey in defending the doctrine of the circulation of the blood; Jenner in defence of the theory of vaccination; Columbus in showing that a new continent might be reached in the West, and in giving "a new world to the kingdom of Castile and Leon."*

Another interesting thought in regard to the progress of science, closely connected with this, is, that the career in splendid discovery is often suddenly arrested. The master mind that had begun to explore the secrets of nature, and that promised, if life had been prolonged, to lay open all her stores, is suddenly removed by death, and his removal is like withdrawing a central sun from a system. Or "grim-visaged war" invades the peacefulness of scientific pursuits; changes the observatory to a rampart; beneath his iron heel tramples down the crucible; and converts the ploughshare to a sword, and the pruning-hook to a spear. Not a few such checks have occurred in the history of the past, and it is interesting to observe how the fact of science thus being arrested has ultimately changed the aspect of different portions of the world. One instructive fact of this kind occurred in the progress of science in Arabia. The Arabian chemist was on the verge of the most splendid discoveries which have marked our own age; and he

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* Epitaph on his tomb in Seville

A Castilla y a Leon
Nuevo mundo dió Colon.

who had given numerical figures to Europe, and algebra to the world, and who had thus laid the foundation for even the splendid discoveries of Newton, was on the verge also of making his own country the seat of science in all coming time, and on the lands of the religion of Islam the sun of science *might* have risen soon to the meridian, and have stood there in full-orbed glory, to go down no more. We can scarcely help pausing to contemplate what a different destiny *might* have awaiied mankind if the Mussulman had suffered his attention to be diverted a little longer from war, and to have pushed his discoveries a little farther. Science would have spread over Arabia; would have travelled eastward to Persia, to Hindostan, to China. On the plains of Chaldea the astronomer would have again built his tower, and would have looked out on the heavens with the telescope in his hand, and there would have marked the distances and the periods of the stars to which the Babylonian had given names. The magnetic needle would have directed the ships of Islam to the Western World, and the Crescent would have been reared where Columbus planted the Cross. Our streams might have been navigated, and our land cultivated by the Mussulman; and the Tigris, the Euphrates, and the Ganges have been the first to have opened their bosoms to bear the vessel navigated by steam. Empire would have retraced its way to its native seat on the plains of Chaldea; and the Prophet of Mecca would have swayed the sceptre perhaps over the whole world. But God designed that these sciences should receive their form and consummation on Christian soils; and it is a most interesting part of history to trace the wonderful means by which he has directed man in science and in the mechanic arts as he has in religion. Hence the splendid career of the Arabian was arrested; hence the empire of science was transferred to Europe and America.

But amid the erroneous or unsettled views which have pre-

vailed in regard to science, while its progress has been so slow, and so often arrested, there is one fact that must ever cheer and animate us in regard to its tendencies hereafter. It is, that when a truth has been discovered of value to society, it is never ultimately lost. It seizes upon great elements in human nature, and it will live. The human mind grasps it with a giant's power, and "the world will not willingly let it die." It works its way into the elements of society; incorporates itself with the customs and laws; modifies the morals and religion of a people; goes to the bedside of the sick and the dying; ascends the bench of justice; encircles the altar and the fireside. It is related of Phidias, that in constructing the statue of Minerva at Athens, he so wrought his own name into her shield, that it could not be removed without destroying the statue. So the principles of science are wrought into the very structure of society—its customs, opinions, language, and laws, that no political revolution, no convulsion, no change can ever cause them to be forgotten. There is not the slightest evidence that a single scientific truth of any value that has ever been known has been obliterated from the human mind. There is not the least reason to suppose that a single invention in the arts that was known to the ancients, and that would be now of any considerable importance, has been lost. The only things supposed to have been possessed by the Egyptians that were ever lost to the world, were, the art of constructing machines to move vast masses of stone, the art of making and staining glass by causing the colours to penetrate accurately through the entire mass, formed as a species of mosaic, and fused so as to defy detection;* and the art of fixing colours in stucco and on stone—an art in which much is owing to a climate perpetually

* Wilkinson's Manners and Customs of the Ancient Egyptians, vol. iii. 89–113.

dry.* To us, of what value would all this be now? The art was lost, for it was useless to the great mass of mankind. But how can the principles of modern science ever be forgotten? How can the knowledge of the telescope ever be destroyed? Each night, from a thousand observatories, it is, and it will be, disclosing the wonders of the heavens to the eye of man. How can the knowledge of the safety-lamp be obliterated? Each day, and each night, it guides ten thousand miners beneath the surface of the earth, and is the protector of their lives. How can the knowledge of the mariner's compass be blotted from the memory of man? Every hour it guides the vessels of all nations with unerring certainty, and conducts the commerce of both hemispheres across the ocean. When can the knowledge of the use of steam be forgotten? Every river and lake; every city and village; every art, and every nation, savage or civilized, begins to acknowledge its power; and the plans of all civilized nations, whether for war or peace; for commerce or manufactures; for ambition or for pleasure; for national aggrandizement, or for the conversion of the world to God, are felt to be dependent on it. What can obliterate the knowledge of the art of printing? What catastrophe *can* ever happen that shall destroy the last printing-press, and annihilate the last printed book and newspaper? All these, with all the future discoveries that science can make, belong to man as man; to the whole world; and they travel down amid all revolutions, to the judgment-day.

Nor in literature is there evidence that much that is truly valuable has been lost. We are accustomed to mourn over the wanton act of Omar, by which the library at Alexandria was destroyed, as well as to smile at the profound reasoning which prompted the act. "If these books accord with the Koran,

* On the Arts of the Ancient Egyptians, see Wilkinson's Manners and Customs of the Ancient Egyptians, vol. iii. pp. 262, 397.

they are unnecessary; if not, they ought to be burned." We often speak with regret of the acts of the monks of the middle centuries, when the art was discovered of erasing an ancient writing from parchment, and when a book of Livy was made to give way for the legend of a saint. But it remains yet to be demonstrated that much that was valuable was destroyed. Of four hundred volumes of papyrus recovered from Herculaneum, and unrolled and read, all are unimportant works relating to music, rhetoric, and cookery.* They perished because they were of so little value that few or no copies of them had been taken. But no act of Omar, no volcanic eruption, could sweep far enough to destroy the Iliad; no hand of a monk could make the world forget the Æneid. And what wide desolation now can destroy the "Paradise Lost," the "Novum Organum," the "Essay on the Human Understanding," or the "Task?"

In the view which we have taken of the progress of science, and in the facts to which we have adverted, we have discovered principles of the deepest value in reference to its future progress. In contemplating its tendencies, particularly as contrasted with what it was in former times, we may discern the following features:

1. Modern science has a tendency to elevate the mass of men. Formerly, its light was confined to the men with whom it originated, or to a few disciples who, like planets, revolved around central suns. Now, the light is shedding itself over remotest objects. Zeno, Plato, Aristotle, in their academic groves, gathered a few disciples, and sought to elevate *their* minds above what was esteemed the herd beneath them. But now, the pursuits of science are confined to no class of men; it has no sacred enclosure which may not be trodden by the feet of the uninitiated and the profane; no fruits which are

* Lyell's Geology, vol. i. 329.

forbidden to mortals. All the works of God, it is at last admitted, may be examined by any one who chooses, and as minutely and as long as patience and life shall permit. The heavens gaze upon us at night, and ask us to turn away from the earth, and investigate the laws of their motion. The bud, the opening leaf, the flower, the insect, the dewdrop, the mineral, the solid diamond, nay, the playing lightnings, ask us to subject all to investigation with the utmost freedom, and to learn their nature. And the truth has gone forth in science wholly, and in religion and morals in part, that all things may be examined. This truth is not to be recalled. It is one of the truths which has taken its place by the side of enduring scientific principles, and is now to go down undisputed to the end of time.

Strange as it seems, the establishment of this truth has cost much, and is the bright result of centuries of opposition and conflict; and the victory by which it has been achieved is more brilliant than any or all that attended the triumphant progress of the Cæsars and Alexanders of ancient times. It was opposed, as we have seen, by the pride of philosophy; and by that spirit, it would seem almost innate in some form in the human mind, which seeks to establish the ascendency of *caste* either in wealth, in birth, in religion, or in science, over large portions of mankind. It was opposed by the almost universal tendency in the ancient world to *theorize* rather than to examine; by that almost instinctive and insatiable desire in the human mind to tell what the world SHOULD be, rather than what it is. Then it was opposed by the scholastic philosophy,—that most profound, subtle, wonderful system; that system formed by talents not inferior to those which in other times have given immortality to the names of Locke and Newton; that system —the first-born of night—extending the shadow of death over half the intellectual world, which received its "shape"

and "substance" from the wearisome toil of some of the profoundest men that have lived—

> "If shape it might be called, that shape had none
> Distinguishable in member, joint, or limb;
> Or substance might be called that shadow seemed."

For centuries this dark system frowned upon all efforts to investigate the works of nature; and during all those centuries the human mind made no advances.

Then the right of free investigation was opposed by false systems and views of religion—not the *least* formidable obstruction in all ages to the progress of science. To us it would be interesting to go more extensively into an examination of this cause of opposition than our time or our design will now admit; for, to us, one of the most interesting of all points of history is the opposition which all forms of false religion have made to the progress of science. True religion prompts to investigation; invites and encourages us to prove all things. It *commands* us to hold fast that which is good. But we need not remind you that Galileo was imprisoned by the professed friends of Christianity; nor need we remind you of the triumphant note of victory which infidelity has sounded, or of the alarm which has been felt by the Christian world at the discovery of some new and splendid truth in science. Christians attached to their faith; building all their hopes on the truth of the Bible, and not yet confident that all the truth which science can disclose will be found in accordance with the Bible—just as the laws of light disclosed by the telescope pertaining to distant worlds accord with the laws of naked vision—have been alarmed at the progress of science, and have trembled at the prospect that some established article of faith would be overturned. Thus they were panic-struck at the high antiquity claimed for the sacred books, and the astronomical systems, and the historical records of India; alarmed

at the amazing disclosures made by astronomy of the magnitude and extent of the universe; alarmed at the researches of geology, and the disclosures made of the long duration of the earth.

It has cost much to overcome this, and to restore confidence to the Christian world that the researches of science will never permanently clash with the doctrines of revelation. But the Christian world has come to that, and science is to receive no more obstruction henceforward from any alarm that its discoveries will contravene the revealed truth of God. No future Galileo is to be imprisoned because he can look farther into the works of nature than other men; and the point which we have gained now is that no obstruction is to be thrown in the way of science by any dread that any scientific truth will impinge on any theological system. The great truth has gone forth at last, not to be recalled, that the astronomer may point his glass to the heavens as long and as patiently as he pleases, without apprehending opposition from the Christian world; the chemist may subject all objects to the action of the crucible and the blowpipe, "with none to molest him or make him afraid;" the geologist may penetrate to any part of the earth—may dig as deep as he pleases, and no one may be alarmed. And this is much. The whole world of science is thrown open to men—to all men. No proud philosopher stands at the gates to say that the inferior rank and caste may not enter the temple; no religionist is there to say that there is any object that is not to be investigated as patiently and as long as he pleases. And the *first* feature in the tendency of modern science is, to *invite* all of all ranks freely and fully to examine all the works of God.

2. Allied to this, and growing out of it, is the *practical* character of modern science; the tendency to apply all its principles to some direct practical purpose. The dreaming

and the speculative have passed away; and on the discovery of a new principle, men now ask at once to what purpose may it be applied in promoting human comfort, in abridging human labour, and in diffusing a knowledge of the arts of life. Society now is full of the application of scientific principles, from the mighty steamship that ploughs the deep, to the humblest operation in the mechanic arts. The effect of science has been to develope vast powers to be made subservient to man; and all which we taste or see or wear; all that promotes facility of intercourse, and all that diffuses comfort or luxury over the land, acknowledges its indebtedness to it. We cross the ocean by the aid of science; we climb the mountain-top by its aid; we ascend our mighty rivers, regardless of currents and winds, by its aid; we invoke its aid in agriculture and in manufacture; we are applying its principles in every machine, in every vehicle, in every printing-press, in every article of apparel. To use the language of one of the most eloquent men and most distinguished statesmen of modern times:—"The materials of wealth are in the earth, in the seas, and in their natural and unaided productions. Labour obtains them, works upon them, and fashions them to human use. Now, it has been the object of scientific art, or of the application of science to art, to increase this active agency, to augment its power, by creating millions of labourers in the form of automatic machines, all to be diligently employed, and kept at work by the force of natural powers. Spinning-machines, power-looms, and all the mechanical devices, acting, among other operatives, in the factories and workshops, are but so many labourers. They are usually called labour-*saving* machines, but it would be more just to call them labour-*doing* machines. When we look upon one of these, we behold a mute fellow-labourer, of immense power, of mathematical exactness, and of ever-during and unwearied effort. And

while he is thus a most skilful and productive labourer, he is a non-consumer—at the least beyond wants of his mechanical being. He is not clamorous for food, raiment, or shelter, and makes no demands for the expenses of education. The eating and drinking, the reading, and writing, and clothes-wearing world, are benefited by the labours of these co-operatives in the same way as if Providence had created a race of giants, each one of whom, demanding no more for his support and consumption than a common labourer, should yet be able to perform the work of a hundred."*

3. Another more important tendency of science is, that it is to be one of many causes now in operation to break down the barriers between nations, and to reunite the race in the bonds of one great brotherhood. Time has been, and the records of such times constitute almost all that we have of history, when the tendency of every thing was to separate and isolate nations, with peculiar plans, customs, objects, pursuits.

> "Lands, intersected by a narrow frith,
> Abhorred each other. Mountains interposed,
> Made enemies of nations, who had else,
> Like kindred drops, been mingled into one."†

Alliances, indeed, have been formed, but they have been usually for conquest, or to resist combinations for conquest. Far distant nations have been blended, indeed, into one; but it has been when some Alexander, Pompey, or Cæsar has subdued them by arms, and when the power of resistance had failed. But another sort of confederation; another

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* Webster's second Speech on the Sub-Treasury Bill, delivered March 12, 1838.

† Task, altered.

species of brotherhood, awaits the nations of the earth. It is that which is to be made by science; by commerce; by a literature in which all the world shall partake; by modes of transmitting thought, when a valuable discovery on the banks of the Mississippi or the Hudson shall soon, as if through galvanic wires, exert an influence on the banks of the Ganges or the Senegal; and by the possession of the same pure religion, and the worship of the same God. To that science tends; and that is its ultimate goal or result. When Fulton first projected the steamboat, he observed, in descanting on its advantages, in Paris, greatly to the amusement of his incredulous auditors, that he had serious hopes of propelling it at the rate of five or six miles an hour. This he anticipated on the peaceful waters of the Hudson. Now, on the waves of the ocean, regardless of currents, and tides, and head winds, the steamship makes its way from continent to continent; has already made us a near neighbour to our fatherland; and almost annihilated the distance between continents separated by wide oceans. The arrival of the Sirius and the Great Western in our waters were events celebrated with joy not less deep-felt, and not less appropriate, than the victories of Marathon and Leuctra—they were events pregnant with far more important and permanent consequences to the nations of the earth. Every steamship that ploughs the mighty ocean is an important agent in the hands of a wonder-working Providence to bind distant nations together; and is doing far more than all that philosophy had ever done to blend them into one. There is science making use of the magnetic needle; looking with unerring accuracy at the stars; triumphing over winds and waves; and directing civilized man to a distant land. There, too, may be science conveying a printing-press to some barbarous clime; bearing the telescope, the quadrant, the safety-lamp, the cotton-jenny, to some distant country; there, too,

conveyed by the triumphs of science across the deep, may be the herald of salvation borne onward to tell the nations of a common Saviour and a common heaven. China speaks of herself as the "celestial empire;" regards herself as seated in the centre of the earth, and as too pure to mingle with other nations. She built a massive wall all along her northern borders, and she succeeded in enclosing herself in her vast prison. But the steamboat is on the way to China; and not her wall, not her edicts can long conceal the truth that she is inferior in science to other nations, or make her unwilling to open her gates and admit the foreigner there. The Turk, in his proud capital, proud of his military prowess, of his conquests, of his harem, of his religion, separated himself from the other portions of mankind, and refused communion with them. But the steamboat has found its way to Stamboul, and now departs each week for Smyrna, for Alexandria, for Trebizond, for Odessa, for Marseilles—and the steamboat is connecting the Turkish capital with the world; and the customs, and manners, and dress, and arts of Christian nations may already be seen in the capital of the Sultan. Not long since it was proclaimed as a prodigious advance in literature in our fatherland that the "schoolmaster was abroad," an idea which, from the greediness with which it was caught up, seemed to have been original in the mouth of the late Lord Chancellor, though familiar here for two hundred years. But now, the declaration, "the steamship is abroad upon the waters," conveys a truth respecting far more important revolutions than any single cause has yet produced. So on the land. We have heard, perhaps, even to satiety, the declaration that "time and space are annihilated;" and we are in danger of forgetting the effect of rapid communication in binding the moral world together; in diffusing a pure religion all around the globe; and not least in cementing

our own republic. About the year 1760, an advertisement appeared in a Philadelphia paper, which we can scarcely now help regarding as a mere matter of humour. It was of what was called a "flying machine." What think you it was? It was a stage-coach that should go from that city to New York in three days. Franklin, one of the most sagacious of men, had such a foresight of the future prosperity of his country, that, as one of the last wishes of his life, he desired, if it were possible, that he might be permitted to revisit his native land after the lapse of two hundred years. And yet even his sagacious vision fell far short of the reality. *He* expressed, as a serious matter, his belief that the time would come when the journey from Philadelphia to New York would be made in two days. Not fifty years have elapsed since the great philosopher died. Could he now reappear; could he take his station on the banks of the beautiful Schuylkill where, with adventurous hand, he first drew a spark from the clouds, it is easy to imagine what would be *his* amazement at the flight, almost like the lightning which he was disarming, of the lengthened train of cars, with a strange power of locomotion, pouring the rich productions of the mighty West into the city where he dwelt.

4. Your patience would not allow us to dwell on one other of the tendencies of science of far more interest than any adverted to yet. Nor would it be right for us to ask your attention while this should be done. It is the tendency which is observable in all science to become tributary to revelation, and to confirm the great historical facts and doctrines of the Christian religion. The effort to divorce Christianity from science was early made; and no small part of the exertions of the foes of our religion have been to show that the revelations of science are contrary to the professed revelations of God. Part have sought to do this by an argument from the splendid views of astronomy which

in modern times have amazed the world; part have unrolled the record of the dynasties of China and Hindostan, and told us of the names and lives of kings many cycles of ages before the accounts of Moses; part have gone and interrogated the crater of the volcano, and searched its hardened scoriæ, to make it tell of ages long before the Scripture account of the creation of man; part have searched the undoubted chronicles of past times, to make them tell a tale unlike the Bible; and part

> "Drill and bore
> The solid earth; and from the strata there
> Extract a register, by which we learn
> That he who made it, and revealed its date
> To Moses, was mistaken in its age."*

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It would not do to go into an examination now of the difficulties suggested, or to give the history of the long war between religion and science. They have been afraid of each other; and have often come into collision like opposing armies, or, as impetuous torrents from opposite hills, meet, and dash, and foam in the vale below. The clergyman has been afraid to compare his views with the professor; and the devotee of science has felt, if he has not avowed it—and he has often avowed it—that he has been conducted to conclusions that are at war with the Bible. All that can now be done, and all that my purpose demands now, is a bare reference to *the present aspect* of this unhappy warfare, and to the position which science and revelation mutually occupy. Of the objections drawn from the modern astronomy, it is enough to say that they were demolished by Chalmers. Since the delivery of his celebrated "Astronomical Discourses" we have heard no more of the objection, and it will *not* probably be referred to by an intelligent infidel

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* Task.

again. At one time, indeed, infidelity claimed that such stupendous plans as the Bible refers to, would not have been formed for a world so insignificant as is this. Now it is admitted that no argument can be derived from that against revelation, but that the simple and sole inquiry is, *what in fact God has done.*

At another time it was held that the account of the origin of languages in the Bible was improbable and absurd; that the hundreds of languages and dialects on the earth could never have had a common origin, and that men could have never used the same forms of speech. There were some hundreds of languages, having, as it appeared, no affinity, no resemblance, no appearance of a common source. The account of the dispersion on the plains of Shinar was held to be ridiculous and improbable; and the book which contained such an account was held to be incredible. Without any reference to the divine origin of Christianity, this vast field of research was entered. Soon it was found, to the surprise of those who had entered on the investigation, that languages grouped themselves into families, and that the number became insensibly smaller. New affinities were discovered, and new classifications formed. The probability became stronger and stronger that there *might* have been a common origin. Sir William Jones supposed that he could trace all the languages of the world back to *three*, and subsequently it was found that science furnished strong presumption that originally there was but one. We can only give you, in a word, the testimony of two distinguished scholars, neither of whom entered on the investigation with any intention to confirm the authority of the Bible. The first is that of Klaproth. He makes no secret of his disbelief of the Mosaic history of the dispersion, and tells us that, like many other writings of Western Asia, he regards it as a mere fable. Yet he says that in his view, "the

universal affinity of languages is placed in so strong a light, that it must be considered by all as completely demonstrated. This," says he, "does not appear explicable on any other hypothesis than that of admitting *fragments of a primary language yet to exist* through all the languages of the old and new worlds." The other witness to which we refer is Herder, who also says that he regards the history of Babel as a "poetical fragment in the Oriental style." Yet he says, as the result of his investigations, that "there is great probability that the human race, and language therewith, go back to one common stock, to a first man, and not to several dispersed in different parts of the world." His conclusions do not stop here. He confidently asserts that, from the examination of languages, the separation among mankind is shown to have been violent; not, indeed, that they voluntarily changed their language, but that they were rudely and suddenly divided from one another.*

At another time, the Christian world was alarmed at the boasted antiquity of the Indies. Astronomical tables were discovered that were believed to have been formed at least 3500 years before Christ, and it was claimed by Bailly that these must be fragments of an earlier and far more perfect science. The Christian world was alarmed, and infidelity began to sound a note of triumph. The result of this, we may state, in the language of Laplace—himself supposed to have no special respect for Christianity—but whose name is sufficient to settle a question of this kind. "The origin of astronomy," says he, "in Persia and India, is lost, as among all other nations, in the darkness of their ancient history. The Indian tables suppose a very advanced state of astronomy; *but there is every reason to believe that they can claim no very high antiquity.*" He then proceeds to a

* Wiseman's Lectures, pp. 69, 73.

detailed examination of the point whether the observations supposed by the Indian tables were ever actually made, and concludes that those tables were not grounded on any true observation, *because the conjunction which they suppose could not have taken place.** The objection of infidelity from those astronomical tables has been silenced, and will not be heard again.

Simultaneously with this supposed difficulty, arose one from the historical records of China and of India. The names of long lines of kings were displayed; accounts of dynasties were furnished extending back millions of ages; and it was supposed here that an objection was started to the Mosaic narrative which would be fatal. Again infidelity triumphed, and the friends of Christianity became alarmed. Yet the result here has been the same. That result is before the world; and the world—infidel and Christian—now acquiesces in the conclusion drawn by the laborious investigations of Sir William Jones, that on the most liberal construction, the existence of an established government in the East can be traced back no farther than 2000 years before the Christian era, the age of Abraham, when there was already an established dynasty in Egypt, and commerce and literature were flourishing in Phœnicia. The Oriental nations have, therefore, taken their appropriate place in the history of the world; and the objection has died away, to be heard no more.

Once more the Christian world was to be alarmed, and once more the note of triumph was to be heard for a while from infidelity. The materials for the new argument which infidelity constructed were found in Egypt. "Volney had no hesitation in placing the formation of the sacerdotal colleges in Egypt, 13,300 years before Christ, and calling that the second period of their history."† For the antiquity of

* Wiseman's Lectures, p. 237. † Recherches, vol. ii. p. 440.

Egypt, infidelity appealed to the huge and half-buried colossal images; to the subterranean temples; to the astronomical remains; and to the hieroglyphic legends of that wonderful country. In particular, an appeal was made to the zodiacs found at Dendera and Esneh, which were supposed to represent the state of the heavens at the time in which the temples where they were found were erected, and which indicated a very remote antiquity. At this period God raised up Champollion. He taught the world to read the hieroglyphics on the obelisks, the tombs, the temples of Egypt. That language long unknown, and whose meaning it was supposed was forgotten forever, now disclosed the fact that the celebrated zodiacs extended no farther back than the time of Nero or Tiberius. On one of the zodiacs he read the name of Tiberius, and on the other the name which Nero takes on his Egyptian medals. The objections from the zodiacs, the pyramids, the tombs, and the inscriptions of Egypt, lost their power forever when Champollion told the world how to read the inscription on the Rosetta stone. The objections from the antiquity of India and China; from the diversity of languages, and from the difference of complexion of nations, have thus died away. Science started these objections; science solved them. The scientific world pursued these inquiries as mere matters of investigation; infidelity seized upon the results to give alarm; and again science, of its own accord, removed the difficulty.

There remains but one point on which the warfare is now maintained. It is on geology. A weapon is occasionally thrown from that science against the stronghold of the Christian faith—the last weapon in the hand of infidelity. In that science, system has risen against system, like the moving pillars of the desert advancing in threatening array; but, like them, they have been fabrics of sand. In 1806, the French Institute counted more than eighty such theories hostile to

Scripture history, not one of which has stood to the present time. Meantime, amid all the advances in that science; all that has been said, or thought, or done, one fact is remarkable. The geologist proves that the world has stood many thousands of years, and we cannot deny it. He points to fossil remains, and tells us of orders of animals that lived many ages before the Mosaic period of the creation of man. The Bible tells us that MAN was created about six thousand years ago. Now, the material fact is, that amid all the fossil remains of the geologist, and all the records of past times, there is no proof that *man* has lived longer than that period; but there is abundant proof to the contrary. Amid all on which the geologist relies to demonstrate the existence of animals prior to the Mosaic account of the creation, he has not presented us with *one human bone*, or with one indication of the existence of man. Other fossil remains, other bones he has disinterred in abundance; but not one that belonged to the human species. So on all coins, medals, historical records, cities, monuments. There are no historical records that go back to such ancient times. There are no monuments of unknown cities; no tombs, no mausoleums that bespeak the existence of man amid the fossil remains of extinct orders of animals. We wander in the past among decaying ruins. We are amid broken arches, pillars, tombs. We look upon the splendid Coliseum; the mighty pyramid; the falling tower; the ivy-bound column; the ruined temple; we brush the dust from ancient inscriptions, and decipher these solemn records, and make the past generations speak out amid their silent monuments; and there is not a solitary voice that disputes the record of the Jewish historian about the recent origin of man, or that points to a time when he lived anterior to the bliss of Eden.*

* Compare Lyell's Geology, vol. ii. pp. 156, 157. Edit. Phil. 1837.

At the interesting period of the world, therefore, in which we live, the friends of science and of revelation have equal cause to congratulate themselves and each other. The great battles have been fought. The human intellect is bowing before the authority of revelation. And could the mighty dead who have carried the achievements of science farthest, pass before us this day, they would come, in the main, profoundly bowing before the authority of Christianity. There would be seen Newton, "placed by common consent at the head of the race," laying all his honours at its feet. There Locke, having explored the deepest recesses of the human mind, and taught its laws, as Newton did the laws of the heavens, in like manner would be seen bowing to the authority of revelation. There Bacon, the father of the inductive philosophy; the man on whose principles Brahe, and Kepler, and Newton, and Laplace have acted, and who has given form to all modern science, comes with this impressive apothegm on his lips: "A little philosophy inclineth a man to atheism; but depth in philosophy bringeth men's minds about to religion; for while the mind of man looketh upon second causes scattered, it may sometimes rest in them, and go no farther; but when it beholdeth the chain of them confederate and linked together, it must needs fly to Providence and Deity."* There would be seen Hale, learned in the law, adorning the Christian profession by a most humble life; and there Davy, advancing at the head of chemical science; and there Cuvier, who has given a new form and impulse to the investigation of fossil remains, coming with the result of all that profound investigation, and contributing all these results to confirm the Bible. These are the lights of men—bright suns that spread their beams over all the firmament of science. Science and religion are two mighty and majestic rivers. Long, indeed, did they flow asunder.

* Essays, Civil and Moral.

They traversed different regions, and brought down fertilizing influences, like gold, from far distant lands. Now they meet —not in angry floods; nor to dash and foam and strew the world with ruins—but they mingle their waters gently in one broad stream that flows forth with majestic volume to enrich and bless the world.

XIII.

*The Desire of Reputation.**

THE subject on which we propose to address you at this time, is, THE DESIRE OF REPUTATION. Our aim will be accomplished if we can set before you the reasons why that desire is implanted in the human bosom; its value as a principle of action; the modifications under which it appears, and the perversion to which it is liable; the true principles which are to guide us in seeking it, and the field which is now open, especially in this country, to secure an honoured name.

We have selected this subject because there is not a heart before us that does not beat with a generous desire to be known and to be remembered; because there is no aspiration of the bosom that is more likely to become perverted, and to be a source of injury; because, for the young especially, it is desirable that the proper metes and limits of its indulgence should be laid down with care; and because we are persuaded, when properly understood, it may be made an important auxiliary in the cause of learning, patriotism, virtue, and even true religion. We will not despise or condemn any thing which we believe to be an original law of our nature, however it may have been abused; we will not believe that any thing which God has implanted in our bosoms may not contribute to the most exalted excellence of man.

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* An address before the Phœnix and Union Societies of Hamilton College, July 28, 1841.

The desire of an honoured name exists in all. It is an original principle in every mind, and lives often when every other generous principle has been obliterated. It is the wish to be known and respected by others; to extend the knowledge of our existence beyond our individual consciousness of being; to be remembered, at least, for a little while after we are dead. Next to the dread of annihilation—the most fearful thought which crosses the human soul—we dread the immediate extinction of our names when we die. We would not have the earth at once made level over our graves; we would not have the spot where we sleep at once forgotten; we would not have the last traces of our existence at once obliterated from the memory of the living world.

We need not go into an argument to prove that this desire exists in the human soul. Any one has only to look into his own heart to find it always there in living power and in controlling influence. We need not ask you to cast your eyes upon the pages of history to see the proofs that the desire has found a home in the heart of man. We need not point you to the distinguished heroes, orators, and poets of past or of modern times; nor need we attempt to trace its operations in animating to deeds of noble daring, or its influence on the beautiful productions of art. Ovid showed it when looking down into far distant ages, and anticipating the judgment of future times, he said:—

> "Jamque opus exegi: quod nec Jovis ira, nec ignes,
> Nec poterit ferrum, nec edax abolere vetustas,
> Cùm volet illa dies, quæ nil nisi corporis hujus
> Jus habet, incerti spatium mihi finiat ævi:
> Parte tamen meliore mei super alta perennis
> Astra ferar: nomenque erit indelibile nostrum.
> Quàque patet domitis Romana potentia terris,
> Ore legar populi: perque omnia sæcula famâ
> (Si quid habent veri vatum præsagia,) vivam.
>
> METAMOR. xv. 871.

Horace expressed the same emotion, and the same conviction that he would be remembered, in the beautiful language—

"Jamque exegi monumentum ære perennius."

Milton was warmed by the same generous flame, and felt that there dwelt within him the innate power of rearing a monument which would convey his name to latest times, when he uttered this sentiment: "I began to assent to my friends here at home, and not less to an inward prompting, which now grew daily upon me, that by labour and intense study (which I take to be my portion in this life) joined with the strongest propensity of nature, I might perhaps leave something so written to after times, as they should not willingly let it die."* Klopstock, in one of his best odes, has described the instinctive desire of future reputation, and of living in the memory of posterity, when founded on a virtuous principle :—

"Sweet are the thrills, the silver voice of fame
Triumphant through the bounding bosom darts!
And immortality! how proud an aim!
What noble toil to spur the noblest hearts!
My charm of song to live through future time,
To hear, still spurning death's invidious stroke,
Enraptured quoirs rehearse one's name sublime,
E'en from the mansions of the grave invoke:
Within the tender heart e'en then to rear
Thee, love! thee, virtue! fairest growth of heaven!
Oh this, indeed, is worthy men's career;
This is the toil to noblest spirits given."

Dr. Good.†

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* The Reason of Church Government urged against Prelacy, book xi., Introduction.

† Reizvoll klinget des Ruhms lockender Silberton
In das schlagende Hertz, und Unsterblichkeit
Ist ein Gedanke,
Ist des Schweisses der edlen werth!

The desire of a grateful remembrance when we are dead lives in every human bosom. The earth is full of the memorials which have been erected as the effect of that desire; and though thousands of the monuments that had been reared by anxious care and toil, by deeds of valour in the battle-field, or by early efforts at distinction in the forum, have perished, still we cannot traverse a land where the indications of this deep-rooted desire do not meet us on every side. The once lofty column, now broken and decaying; the marble, from which the name has been obliterated by time; the splendid mausoleum, standing over remains long since forgotten; and the lofty pyramid, though the name of its builder is no longer known—each one shows how deeply this desire once fixed itself in some human heart. Every work of art; every temple and statue; every book on which we carelessly cast the eye as we pass along the alcoves of a great library, is probably a monument of this desire to be remembered when life is gone. Every rose or honeysuckle that we plant over the grave of a friend, is but a response to the desire not to be forgotten which once warmed the cold heart beneath. And who would be willing to be forgotten? Who could endure the thought that when he is committed to the earth, no tear would ever fall on his grave; no thought of a friend ever be directed there; and that the traveller would never be told who is the sleeper there?—Even the poor slave that desires to be remembered by his fellow-

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Durch der Lieder Gewalt, bey der Urenkelin
Son und Tochter noch seyn, mit der Entzückung Ton
Oft beym Namen genennet,
Oft gerufen vom Grabe her.
Dann ihr sanfteres Hertz bilden, und Liebe, dich
Fromme Tugend, dich, auch giessen inn safte Hertz,
Ist, beym Himmel! nicht wenig!
Ist des Schweisses der Edlen werth!

Der Zürchersee.

slave when he is dead, feels the working of this mighty principle, *and is a man*—for the brute never has it—and he has in this, at least, the impress of human nature enstamped by his Maker on his soul.

To this universal desire in the bosom of man to be remembered when he is dead, the living world is not reluctant to respond; for were there no higher principle, the living wish to ask at the hands of others what they are desired to show for the departed. Affection, therefore, goes forth and plants the rose on the grave; rears the marble, moulded into breathing forms, over the dust; like Old Mortality, cuts the letters deeper when the storms of time efface them; and hands down in verse and song the names of those who have deserved well of mankind.

> "Patriots have toiled, and in their country's cause
> Bled nobly; and their deeds, as they deserve,
> Receive proud recompense. We give in charge
> Their names to the sweet lyre. Th' historic muse,
> Proud of the treasure, marches with it down
> To latest times; and Sculpture, in her turn,
> Gives bond in stone and ever-during brass,
> To guard them, and t' immortalize her trust.
> But fairer wreaths are due, though never paid,
> To those who, posted at the shrine of truth,
> Have fallen in her defence."
>
> TASK, book v.

Why is this passion implanted in the human bosom? Why is it so universal? Why is it seen in so many forms? We answer, It is one of the proofs of man's immortality; the strong, instinctive, universal desire to live—and to live on forever. It is that to which philosophers have all along appealed, in the lack of better evidence, to sustain the hope that man would survive the tomb. It is the argument on which Plato rested to sustain his own soul in the darkness which enveloped

him, and which has been put in the mouth of every school-boy, in the language of Addison :—

> ———"Whence this pleasing hope, this fond desire,
> This longing after immortality?
> Or whence this secret dread, and inward horror,
> Of falling into naught? Why shrinks the soul
> Back on herself, and startles at destruction?
> 'Tis the divinity that stirs within us;
> 'Tis heaven itself that points out an hereafter,
> And intimates eternity to man."
>
> CATO, act v.

And while this desire lingers in the human soul, as it always will, man cannot forget that he is immortal, and it will be in vain to attempt to satisfy him that he wholly ceases to be when the body dies. He will not, he cannot believe it. He would not always sleep. He would not always be forgotten. He would live again :—live on in the memory of his fellow-man as long as the flowers can be made to bloom, or the marble to perpetuate his name; and then still live on when "seas shall waste, and skies in smoke decay."

Nor is this the only design of implanting this desire of remembrance in the bosom of man. It is not merely to be an argument for, and a memento of, our immortality; it is to be one of the means to excite us to virtue and to noble deeds. It is the operation of one of the beautiful laws of our nature, though, as we shall see, sadly perverted, designed to stimulate us to great and generous efforts. Men may call it selfish—and so it may become. They may call it ambition—and so it often is. But who knows not that the worst passions are usually the perversion of that which is most generous and exalted? And who knows not that one of the objects of all the lessons of experience, philosophy, and religion is to call man back from the erratic course to which a wicked heart has led him, to the operation of the simple laws of nature: to

bind the lurid meteor within a regular orbit, and to light it up from a pure and steady central sun? This desire of reputation—this wish to be remembered, has been implanted in the soul to deter from vice by the dread of disgrace; to prompt to actions worthy to be remembered by the fear of being forgotten; to call forth the noble powers of the soul by a wish, like Milton's, to achieve some work "that the world shall not willingly let die." Point us to a man, young or old, in whose bosom this desire is extinct, and you have designated a man either abandoned to despair, or in whom virtue is dead.

Every law of our nature is of value, and has an important place in the great purpose of promoting the interests of society. In this view, what is the value of a desire of reputation? What influence should it be allowed to have on a young man starting on public life? We have found in our own experience, and as far as our observation extended, we have seen that the world is favourably disposed toward young men. There are no interests in society so valuable that the world is not willing to commit them to their hands, when they are satisfied that they are qualified to defend them, and to transmit them to future times. All the blood-bought blessings of freedom; all the endowments of colleges and schools; all the offices in the state; and all the interests of religion and benevolence, they are willing to intrust to the young, so soon as they have evidence that they will be safe in their hands,—and then they who have toiled and bled for these things will lie calmly down and die. Judges and senators are willing to vacate their seats; and conquerors, whom no foe could subdue, are willing to resign their swords; and the ministers of religion, to whom the cause of truth is dearer than life, are willing to vacate their pulpits to enter them no more when those now young show that they are worthy of the trust. But they ask evidence of this. They demand that the young shall show that they are deserving of confidence before these great

interests are committed to them; they ask such a "REPUTATION" of those advancing to receive these honours as shall show that the trust will not be endangered, before it is yielded. To secure this, there is in this community an eye of unslumbering vigilance on every young man, from which he cannot escape. The world watches his movements; learns his character; marks his defects; records and remembers his virtues; asks the question about the reputation with which he enters on public life, and all with reference to the great interests which are soon to be committed to the hands of the advancing generation. There is an unseen, but withering influence, *from which he can never escape,* that attends every young man who is idle, dissipated, or unprincipled; that will go with him, like an evil genius, to the most distant part of our own land or to distant climes; that will meet him even when he regards himself as among strangers; that will, unperceived, cross oceans with him, and start up to meet him in polar snows or on barren sands; that will attend him should he wander on the Alps or by the side of the Senegal or the Ganges, or should he seek to hide himself in a crowded foreign metropolis. That evil influence he cannot live down, nor can he flee away from it. Aaron Burr met such an influence at Paris—a wretched fugitive and an outcast, without a friend; and Benedict Arnold could have found no nook of earth where it would not have followed him. And in like manner, there is a happy influence, of more value than the fabled "Genius" of Socrates, that will go with every young man who, by an early life of virtue, has shown himself worthy of the confidence of mankind, and that will attend him around the globe.

In this land, perhaps more than in any other, every thing in life depends on a good name; a fair reputation. It is a principle in the civil constitutions of our country that office shall be conferred only on those who have evinced by their lives that it may be safely confided to them, and that it will

be not an inappropriate recompense for public services. From the highest in the gift of the people to the lowest, there is not one that is not designed to be bestowed on those, and those only, who are called to it by previous tried fidelity. No advantage of birth or blood; no hereditary rank or name; no merit of an ancestor, limits its bestowment, or confers any facilities for reaching it. And in like manner there is not an office in our colleges or schools; there is not a pulpit in the land; there is not an honour which the bar or the profession of medicine has to bestow, to which there can be a hereditary claim, or to which the ascent is not to be made by slow and steady individual worth. Public favours are designed to be, and to an extent which few young men understand, will be, graduated by the claim to those favours which shall be established by a character honourably gained in early life. Talent will not answer the purpose of a good name; nor can gold or diamonds purchase what the community will gladly confer on him who has a character which shows that he is entitled to its confidence.

Such is the original principle with which man is endowed; and such is its value in the world. Yet that principle, so valuable, and designed to accomplish so much in the welfare of man, we need not say, has much more seldom appeared among men in a pure and healthful form than in a form perverted and ruinous. It is of importance, therefore, that we examine some of the modifications which it has assumed, and the parts which it has played in the great transactions of mankind.

The principle of our nature to which we are referring is, the desire of being known and esteemed by others; of being remembered when we are dead. The form of the principle, as it is implanted in the heart of man by the Creator, is the desire of an honoured remembrance on account of virtue and true worth; that which will lead a friend to drop a tear or plant a

flower over the grave; that sacred and cherished recollection which the world will not "willingly let die."—The perverted forms in which it appears among men is now the object of our contemplation.

First, it appears in the form of ambition—perhaps the widest passion, as it is one of the earliest, that has swayed the heart of man. It is the desire of power, of glory, of fame—

> "That last infirmity of noble minds."

It is the wish for distinction, regardless of the rights and welfare of others; of the cause of justice or liberty; of the moral worth which, joined with talent, alone should entitle man to the grateful remembrance of his species. It is the purpose to reign and rule; the wish to evince such talent as to command the applause of mankind—to play such a part on the theatre of human affairs, that however men may *wish* to do it, they *cannot* forget the aspirant for fame. To record the deeds of such men has unhappily been the main province of history. The mind sickens when it contemplates the past;—and when we would ask how man advanced from a state of barbarism through the various stages of society—how the arts flourished, and how science spread her triumphs—what regions the fleets for discovery or for commerce visited—and the successive steps by which man learned the arts of healing, or manufactures, or music, or poetry, we become almost disgusted with the records of the race, for we find the page of history occupied only with the names of heroes, and written with a pen dipped in blood, as though nothing were worth recording but prowess and skill in butchering men. It was not only in the dark regions of the world beneath us, that the feeling has been evinced which Milton put into the mouth of the Arch-Apostate—

> "The mind in its own place and in itself
> Can make a heaven of hell, a hell of heaven.

What matter where, if I be still the same,
And what I should be; all but less than he
Whom thunder hath made greater?
In my choice,
To reign is worth ambition, though in hell;
Better to reign in hell than serve in heaven."

PARADISE LOST, book i.

The history of the world, as now recorded, has been a history of wars—of the fruits of mad ambition. Historians, it would seem, have been employed merely to attend the march of the conqueror, and record the achievements of battle; and poets merely to celebrate their praises. The muse has told us of the talent of distinguished leaders; of the skilful array of the battle; of the deeds of heroism on the field of blood; of the shouts of victory; of the triumphant and glorious return of the conqueror. Yet, one of the most melancholy spectacles on earth, had all men right feelings, would be the return of a mighty conqueror, or a march in order of battle—files of men with swords, and bayonets, and battle-axes; and it requires all the animation of martial music, and all the tinsel of dress and caparison, and all the magnificence of banners, and all the enthusiasm of numbers, and all the stern conviction of necessity, to make such a procession tolerable in a Christian land. For it reminds us that those swords are made to drink up blood; and those bayonets to pierce the hearts of husbands, and lovers, and fathers; and those battle-axes to cleave down brothers and sons, and the whole array to butcher mankind. War is a horrid trade—a "game which, were their subjects wise, kings would not play at." Victory in war is a horrid victory; and its whole history is the darkest part of the record of the world. Future ages will yet go over the fields of Marathon, and Leuctra, and Waterloo with horror, and read the records of the past with amazement that such deeds were enacted in the world. The time will come when the desire to rear a monument by conquests in war to perpetuate the name,

will give way to the desire to be remembered as the benefactor of the species, and when for such a wreath as entwines the brow of Howard or Wilberforce, he who desires to be remembered would be willing to exchange all the trophies of ancient battle ever gained, and all the diadems of glory that ever sparkled on the brow of a conqueror. It is well for those who are preparing for public life now to know that if *they* are to gain any reputation which is to be of permanent value, it is to be in measures adapted to bless and not to destroy mankind. Glory enough has been won in the field of carnage. Talent for slaughter has been evinced in other days, far beyond what may be expected to be equalled hereafter; and no young aspirant for fame can hope to rival now Epaminondas or Scipio, Hannibal, Alexander, or Napoleon. The world, too, is changing its estimates of such deeds. In reading the history of the past, there is an increasing propensity to pass over the pages that contain the records of battles and sieges, and the disgusting details of the numbers of slaughtered men, and to fix the eye on the scattered and comparatively few notices that record the advance of literature and the arts, and that tell of commerce, and language, and customs, and inventions that went to enlarge the sphere of knowledge, and to mark the progress of domestic comfort. A man with just views of the relative beauty, grandeur, and true worth of things, would rather look in upon the cottage of contentment and peace in ancient Arcadia, than on the triumphal procession of the Cæsars; he would rather sit down in the peaceful dwelling described in Burns's "Cotter's Saturday Night," than to have seen the glory of Napoleon at Austerlitz or Marengo. The sentiments of the world change about "glory;" and now, as fast as any thing else in this changing age, the love of martial song and story is giving place to the descriptions of the arts and enjoyments of peace. Homer's beauty and grandeur, and not his description of battles, will make his name live to all times;

and the affections of mankind will more and more cluster around Burns—who sings the feelings of those who never sought glory in deeds of blood; on Cowper—who tells of nature just as she is.

The love of battle, and of fame in the battle-field, will not linger long in the world. We know not that the youth of our country are in any danger of being improperly influenced by a regard of military fame. But the love of honour or reputation has assumed another form in days that are gone by, whose remains now linger among us with more tenacity. We allude to the form which was evinced in the days of chivalry. It was founded on generous feelings. It grew up when there were no laws to protect character; when there was no intelligent public opinion and virtuous sentiment to which a man might safely leave his reputation. It was sustained by all the feelings of piety of the age, and by a profound veneration for God and his government—a veneration extending so far that it was believed he would interpose by miracle to defend the innocent. It was the desire of an honoured name, and a belief that when that name was attacked, it was to be settled by an appeal to arms, and that the God of justice, who held the scales even-poised, would interpose to decide in favour of the innocent. In the ordeal or the duel, the idea was not that the individual took his reputation into his own keeping, or that it depended on the valour of his own arm, but that it was in the holy keeping of God, and that *he* would interpose, and decide according to truth. The institution of chivalry and knight-errantry, therefore, embodied all the piety as well as all the honour of the age; it embraced reverence for the divine government as well as respect for valour; it reposed on what was believed to be a righteous cause, as well as on the strength of the arm in battle. It was the champion of right; the vindicator of innocence; the punisher of wrongs; the patron of courtesy, as well as the claimant to valour. It lived, indeed, in

the smiles of the fair; but it sought also the approbation of heaven. It aimed at invincible valour; but it aimed also at the vindication of right. It had, indeed, like the valour of the warrior, no connection with science or with the arts. It founded no schools or colleges—but it destroyed none; it planted no vineyards or olive-yards—but it did not destroy them; it built no cities of commerce or hamlets of peace—but it did not go forth with a torch like the warrior to lay those which existed waste. It was the protector, not the originator; the patron, not the founder.

Why, it may be asked, is this remote and almost forgotten theme alluded to here? What connection has it with the subject before us—the desire of reputation? We answer, because it was one of the ways in which for centuries a reputation was sought and defended; and because, more than almost any other institution of ancient times, the *reason* for which has passed away, it still lingers among us. The desire of vindicating one's reputation by an appeal to arms, still lingers around the capital, and maintains its hold in the remotest parts of our republic. It lives as the form of what it once was—though a form without the soul—the purpose of vindicating personal honour without the piety or the appeal to God. Once, the duellist expected the interposition of heaven. It was a part of his religion. That expectation is now all gone. It is no longer an appeal to God as the avenger; it is dependence on personal valour, and on the skill of the marksman. Once, in public estimation, it settled the great question of right; now it proves nothing but the superior skill of the successful combatant—a superiority which is often not the index of innocence, but of more practised guilt. That Hamilton fell was not because he was a less righteous man; it was because his adversary was a more practised marksmar, and had a purpose of vengeance and of death that fixed his eye and nerved his arm.

We would not allude to this mode in which reputation is vindicated, were it not that there are few dangers that yet encompass the path of those who are preparing for public life more likely to assail them than this. It lingers still among our countrymen. When we had hoped that it had died away, we are shocked to learn that some man whose life was deemed valuable, has fallen as another victim, showing that this deference to the "laws of honour" still lives among us. In common with others, we honour true independence. If there is any man at whose feet we would bow down with the highest expressions of regard, it is the man described by Horace—

> "Justum et tenacem propositi virum
> Non civium ardor prava jubentium,
> Non vultus instantis tyranni
> Mente quatit solidâ, neque Auster
> Dux inquieti turbidus Adriæ,
> Nec fulminantis magna Jovis manus:
> Si fractis illabatur orbis,
> Impavidum ferient ruinæ"—
>
> HOR. CAR. lib. iii. 3.

the man whose

> "Towering soul,
> Midst all the shocks and injuries of fortune,
> Rises superior."
>
> CATO, act ii.

But we need not pause here to say what true independence is. It is that trait of mind which, while it renders due respect for the opinions of others, seeks to find the truth, and which holds it fast at every sacrifice. It is not to be turned away from what is true and right by flattery or fear; by the dread of contempt for singularity or by persecution; by the hope of life or by the apprehension of death. It is that which, strong in conscious rectitude, is not humbled and abashed though it stands alone; which, secure in the belief of uprightness of intention, can follow out its own convictions, though

the world may smile or frown. You would not select the duellist for a man of independence. It is his *want of it* that leads him into the field—for he oftenest goes there against his own convictions of right, sacrificing his independence to a law of honour whose wrong and folly he admits, and to the fear of a charge of cowardice from his friends. Hamilton left his recorded sentiments against the practice which cost him his life; and fell a sacrifice to the custom, because even such a man did not dare to avow that sentiment openly, and to meet the scorn of one portion of mankind. "My religious and moral principles," says he in a paper found after his death, "are strongly opposed to the practice of duelling, and it would ever give me pain to be obliged to shed the blood of a fellow-creature in a private combat forbidden by the laws."* To stand up against prevailing but bad customs; to brave the smile of contempt and the finger of scorn when one knows that he is right; to bid the world laugh on while we pursue "the even tenor of our way," often requires a rarer courage than to face the cannon's mouth, or to expose the life to the fire of a skilful marksman.

We have spoken of two methods in which men regard their reputation—the one, when they seek a reputation in climbing up the steeps of ambition, though it lead them through fields of blood; and the other, when it leads them to vindicate their insulted honour in violation of the laws of God and man. We might speak of a third perversion, when it becomes the mere love of praise; when the wish of commendation becomes the whole principle of action, whether it lead to the field, or inspire the orator, or direct the inspirations of the poet, or urge on the professional man. The love of applause lies deep in the human soul; and there are few whose virtue is made of so stern material as to resist or survive its influence.

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* Life of Colonel Burr, vol. ii. 318, 319.

"O popular applause! what heart of man
Is proof against thy sweet seducing charms?
The wisest and the best feel urgent need
Of all their caution in thy gentlest gales;
But swelled into a gust—who then, alas!
With all his canvas set, and inexpert,
And therefore heedless, can withstand thy power!
Praise from the rivelled lips of toothless, bald
Decrepitude, and in the looks of lean
And craving poverty, and the bow
Respectful of the smutched artificer,
Is oft too welcome, and may disturb
The bias of the purpose. How much more
Poured forth by beauty splendid and polite
In language soft as adoration breathes!"

TASK, book i.

Few are the men who can successfully resist its influence; few they, whose hearts are proof to the shouts which lift the name up to heaven.

We turn to another inquiry—to the question what course a young man shall pursue who wishes a fair reputation? What measures shall he propose to himself as the rules of life? What shall he do when his name—as he may expect it will be—is attacked? We know of few questions more important to those who are entering on the career of life; and we scarcely know of any better service which could be rendered to those who are to meet the roughnesses and jostlings in the way before them, than to lay down a principle which would be a safe guide.—We venture, then, on this subject, to lay down this proposition, that *in regard to the amount of reputation which is due to us, the world will work itself right.* That every man will have ultimately the reputation which he ought to have. That He who presides over the course of events holds an even balance in his hand, and that what is due to every man will be determined by the strictest principles of equity. That a man who *ought* to be esteemed by the world, ultimately will be; and that he whose name *ought* to be

covered with infamy, however bright it may shine for a while, will ultimately have a reputation black as night. Water will find its proper level; and so will the reputation of a man in the course of events. The man who ought to be remembered with gratitude, will be; the man whose name ought to be covered with infamy, will be.

You cannot force a reputation by artificial means; you cannot make the world do honour to a name that ought to be dishonoured; you cannot build a mausoleum so splendid, or rear a monument so massive or so high, as to perpetuate the memory of a man who has never done any thing to constitute a reason why he should not be forgotten.

This principle, which we deem so important, you will permit us for a moment to illustrate. We admit, indeed, that it is easy to acquire celebrity by splendid perverted talents; but it is not possible to perpetuate that admiration through succeeding ages. The principle whose truth we maintain, is, that the world will, in the course of time, work itself right; that the man who ought to be remembered with admiration will be remembered, and that he who ought to be remembered with dishonour will have such a bad immortality, or that if he ought to be forgotten, he will be forgotten. We know not that this principle can be expressed in more terse and vigorous language than in an ancient proverb, which has also the advantage of inspiration: "The memory of the just is blessed; but the name of the wicked shall rot." Against this principle, indeed, there is a class of mankind that have been always contending; and it would almost seem sometimes that the principle was to be carried away—as if old ocean, in a furious tempest, should burst over the iron-bound coast, and sweep over every barrier. Men of giant minds, and giant wickedness, who could stamp with the foot and whole nations would be armed for conquest, and before whom the mountains seemed to flow down to make a smooth path for their armies, and

beneath the tread of whose legions the earth has trembled, have seemed to make war also on this great principle; to establish such a reputation as they pleased, and to compel not only their own generation to honour them, but to control the opinions of all future times. It would seem as if they must be successful. Their deeds are emblazoned in song—"married to immortal verse." They rear splendid arches of victory. They raise the lofty column that points to heaven, and cover it all over with the story of their deeds. They build the pyramid to endure for ages; or cause the splendid mausoleum to be constructed over the place where they shall sleep. They stamp the record of their deeds on their age as if in eternal brass, and die with the expectation that all future ages will honour their memory.

But it is not in lofty arches or columns; it is not in the mausoleum or the pyramid; it is not in the power of even immortal verse—more enduring than all—to preserve the memory of such men as they wish. The arch, the pyramid, the column, crumble to dust; and long before the inscription on them becomes illegible, the world reverses the sentence, and pronounces their just and unchanging doom. Mankind will ultimately judge right, and place the name on the scroll where it ought to stand. A proper sentiment is already formed of Alexander and Cæsar; of Charles II., and of Henry VIII.; and is forming, with a rapidity which nothing can check, of him who was triumphant at Marengo, but who lost his crown and his glory at Waterloo. Remembered he may be, perhaps, as long as in the wildest days of his mad ambition he desired. There are *two* men, at least, of the generation which is just gone by, that will not soon be—one of whom will never be forgotten. They are Napoleon and Washington. Future ages will see them when they look back to these times; but how different! The one will appear in the sky as a lurid meteor, dying away in the distance—the other as a bright and benignant star, brighter

and brighter with every century that the world shall stand! So it will be in the walks of literature and science. The world will judge right. Swift, a man of fine talents and a fine writer, has exiled himself already from every respectable library by his obscenity; and the splendid powers of Byron will not always save him from the neglect which pride dreaded more than death. But not such is the fame of Locke, of Newton, of Bacon, of Howard, of Jenner, of Milton.

The principle to which we are referring, has had too many illustrations to admit more than a bare reference to it now. We might refer to Socrates, destined always to be mentioned as the greatest and the best of all the men that the Pagan world ever produced, though sentenced by his own countrymen to death. Sir Walter Raleigh was condemned for high treason, on charges of which, in all coming times, he will be acquitted. He had a respite; and year after year rolled away, and again he was permitted to revisit his favourite El Dorado; but the will of the most pedantic and self-sufficient of monarchs doomed him to the block, and posterity has already determined the issue between him and James I. Whose name shines with a purer splendour than that of Galileo? Yet we need not say that the time was, when scarlet-clothed cardinals and heads of universities denounced him, and when he was doomed to painful incarceration because he dared to say that the earth revolved round the sun. "Why stand ye here gazing up into heaven?" was the text which bigotry and ignorance chose from which to preach when he was condemned, and on which it dared to rebuke the great spirit that was not afraid to contemplate the wonderful works of God. We might allude here, without impropriety, to the "noble army of martyrs;" to the "confessors" and the persecuted of past times—men whose names were once covered with reproach and infamy. Yet who will live in the long and grateful recollection of mankind like those who died for the establishment of the Christian religion? The

work which they did was worth all which it cost; and as far as a grateful recollection will be a recompense, the world will reward them. Is it improper to say, also, that if the men chosen on the banks of the Lake of Genesareth to revolutionize the religion of the world, and who had endowments such as no other men ever had, had wished to obtain the widest reputation, and to secure the longest grateful remembrance, they chose the very path which wisdom would have selected—the path through reproaches, and obloquy, and scorn? Columbus, too, lived and died amid reproaches—taunted as a wild projector, and then abandoned to neglect and want when success had placed him at the head of his age. But he will live—live, not because the marble tells the place where he sleeps in the new world which he discovered, but live in every lovely village, in every growing city, in every splendid capital, in every kingdom or republic that shall ever rise up in the vast hemisphere which he disclosed. Such men have a reputation which never dies. It grows brighter; never wanes. Wickedness may erect a splendid monument, but who will go and rebuild it when fallen? Who would construct the Pyramids again, to perpetuate, if they could, the names of their first builders? Who will cut deeper the letters that record the names of men of infamy, that they may be transmitted to more distant times? None. But on the humble tablet in the hills of Scotland, you may see zeal, and devotion, and love going from place to place, with no hope of fame or reward, to cut deeper the names of Richard Cameron, and of those who lived and died like him. "Old Mortality" is the emblem of the gratitude and generous feeling of man. He was not the creation of fiction; but had he been, the fiction would have been one of the most just and beautiful that the splendid genius that has now made him immortal could have invented. He represents man—man, self-denying, disinterested, generous and just, in this thing at

least, in keeping up the remembrance of those whose names ought not to be left to die.

A man who is always defending his reputation will have enough to do, and will usually soon have no reputation that is worth the trouble of defence. He who is willing to commit his name and memory to the course of events, content with the small measure of notice which is due to an individual, will not find the world slow to do him justice. Let him do his duty; let him lead an upright life; let him make the best use of his talents, and God will take care of his reputation, and will assign to him the place, in the estimation of mankind, which may be his due.

Of the correctness of the principle which we have been endeavouring to illustrate, there will probably be no difference of opinion. It may be asked, however, in what way it is, that the course of events so shape themselves as to do justice to a man's reputation, and how it is, that his name may rise above calumny and detraction? We know that a man, pursuing an upright and an honourable course, may be overwhelmed with reproaches. We know that the tongue of slander, whose "breath outvenoms all the worms of Nile," may attack him. We know that calumny may assail him in a form which he can no more meet than he can meet a "mist that comes in from the ocean;" and we are not ignorant that, covered with reproaches and disgrace, he may be left to die. The sun, that appeared most bright when on the meridian, may sink behind a dark cloud; and it may seem that the name is to be handed over to perpetual infamy. How shall it be rescued? What influences will come up to remove that cloud, and restore the name to its deserved lustre? Can a man safely commit his reputation to the keeping of others, and believe that justice will be done him when he is dead?

We answer these questions by observing, that there *is* that on which the calumniated and the injured man may rely.

Look at the change which is made in the views entertained of a man when he dies. Look at the great and beautiful law of our nature, by which, the moment when the soul leaves the clay tenement, the world is ready to come around the cold remains of the injured man, and to do justice to his name.

The grave—how it silences the voice of detraction and calumny; how it changes faults to foibles, and errors to weaknesses! *De mortuis nihil nisi bonum,* is a sentiment that speaks out the natural language of the human heart, and will do so to the end of time. It is the operation of a law of our nature, by which death brings out in bright relief the virtues of the departed, and covers up his faults;—and the design is as benignant as the law is beautiful. It is, to teach us to exhibit to others in life no other feelings than that which we would love to cherish should we go and stand by the grave of friend or foe—to teach us to show to others that love "which suffereth long and is kind; which is not easily provoked, and which thinketh no evil; which beareth all things, endureth all things, believeth all things, hopeth all things,"—and which we never regret that we evinced to friend or foe, when he dies.

"Oh, the grave! the grave!" (We use language familiar to you all;) "it buries every error, covers every defect, extinguishes every resentment. From this peaceful bosom springs none but fond regrets, and tender recollections. Who can look down, even upon the grave of an enemy, and not feel a compunctious throb that ever he should have warred with the poor handful of earth that now lies mouldering before him? but the grave of those we loved—what a place for meditation! There it is we call up in long review the whole history of the truth and gentleness, and the thousand endearments lavished upon us, almost unheard in the daily course of intimacy; there it is we dwell upon the tenderness of the parting scene;

the bed of death, with all its stifled grief; its noiseless attendants; its most watchful assiduities—the last testimonials of expiring love—the feeble, fluttering, thrilling—oh how thrilling is the beating of the pulse—the last fond look of the glazing eye, turning upon us from the threshold of existence—the faint, faltering accent struggling in death to give one more assurance of affection. Ah! go to the grave of buried love, and meditate! There settle the account, with thy conscience, of every past endearment unregarded, of that departed being who never, never can be soothed by contrition. If thou art a child, and hast ever added a sorrow to the soul, or a furrow to the silvered brow of an affectionate parent; if thou art a husband, and hast ever caused the fond bosom that ventured its whole happiness in thy arms to doubt one moment of thy kindness or thy truth; if thou art a friend, and hast injured by thought, word, or deed, the spirit that generously confided in thee; if thou art a lover, and hast even given one unmerited pang to the true heart that now lies cold beneath thy feet, then be sure, that every unkind look, every ungracious word, every ungentle action, will come thronging back upon thy memory, and knock dolefully at thy soul; be sure that thou wilt lie down sorrowing and repenting on the grave, and utter the unheard groan, and pour the unavailing tear, bitter because unheard and unavailing."* Around the grave, God intends that man shall be willing to do justice to the memory of the dead; and the feelings which *He* causes all men to cherish there furnish one demonstration of the reality of that great law which we are illustrating—that the world will do ultimate justice to a man's character and reputation.

Further:—*time* brings out the character. It explains that which was dark; gives consistency to that which seemed doubtful; and removes that which envy, and malice, and

* Irving.

hatred accumulated around the name. The zeal of party leads men to calumniate the character of others, and envy attempts to destroy their reputation; but the zeal of party soon dies away, and the next generation has no occasion for envy. We never envy the dead, but the living. We feel no envy of Epaminondas, or Pericles, or Fabius. Not a living bosom envies Homer, or Virgil, or Tasso, or Milton. No one will ever envy Washington. You could not constrain the next generation to carry forward the work of envy which may be begun in this; nor *would* the coming age turn aside from its employment to finish a work of detraction. Envy is the work of one generation only; admiration of genius, and talent, and moral worth, is the work of man as man, and will increase in all coming time.

There is one other thought. It is not human nature only; not the course of events only; not the innate sense of justice in the human bosom only that is set to guard character, and transmit a good name onward:—it is the Great Being who presides over all events, and who gives to man such a reputation or reward, here or hereafter, as is just. Enduring reputation arises from the favour of heaven, and from dependence on the Great Dispenser of gifts and crowns, rather than on man.

You are all familiar with the interesting lesson taught us by the great poet of nature, who sounded all the depths of the human heart.—Said Wolsey—

> "When I am forgotten, as I shall be,
> And sleep in dull, cold marble, where no mention
> Of me more must be heard of,—say I taught thee.
> Say, Wolsey—that once trod the ways of glory,
> And sounded all the depths and shoals of honour—
> Found thee a way out of his wreck to rise in;
> A sure and safe one, though thy master miss'd it.
> Mark but my fall, and that that ruin'd me.
> Cromwell, I charge thee, fling away ambition;

By that sin fell the angels, how can man then,
The image of his Maker, hope to win by it?
BE JUST AND FEAR NOT;
Let all the ends thou aim'st at, be thy country's,
Thy God's, and truth's.
O Cromwell, Cromwell,
Had I but served God with half the zeal
I served my king, he would not in mine age
Have left me naked to mine enemies."

HENRY VIII. act iii.

You will allow us to express the same thought in the language of another, whose name, like Shakspeare's, is to go down to latest times:

"Fame is the spur that the clear spirit doth raise,
(That last infirmity of noble minds,)
To scorn delights, and live laborious days;
But the fair guerdon when we hope to find,
And think to burst out into sudden blaze,
Comes the blind Fury with the abhorred shears,
And slits the thin-spun life. 'But not the praise.
'Fame is no plant that grows on mortal soil,
Nor in the glistering foil
Set off to the world, nor in broad rumour lies:
But lives and spreads aloft by those pure eyes
And perfect witness of' God 'above
As he pronounces lastly on each deed;
Of so much fame in heaven expect thy meed.'"

LYCIDAS.

There is an interesting department of our subject—perhaps to some whom we now address, of much more interest than any thing to which we have adverted—which the time will scarcely allow us to enter on. It is the inquiry, What fields are now open for securing an honourable reputation? What new heights of glory are there now to climb? What regions of science remain to be explored? In what department in the arts can we hope to perpetuate the name and the memory? Can any aspirant for fame in the forum hope to surpass De-

mosthenes or Cicero; or equal Burke and Chatham? Can any one in the arts, hope to place his name beside that of Phidias or Praxiteles; of Raphael or Michael Angelo? Can any one hope to sing the praises of heroes like him of Scio, or the bard of Mantua, or to imbed his name by immortal song in the language and literature of his country, like Tasso, or Dante, or Milton? Is there any one now who can open new fields of discovery in the heavens like those on which the eye of Galileo, or Brahe, or Newton, first among mortals, gazed? Who is to equal Mansfield in our father-land, and Marshall in our own, on the bench? Who is again to lay the foundations of science, broad and deep, in some new Novum Organum?

We answer these questions, which seem fitted only to dishearten and discourage, by observing, that the field is by no means explored; the harvest is not wholly reaped; the possibility of being gratefully remembered by those whose good opinion is of value is not hopeless. To those who are just entering on the career of life, we may observe, that they start under uncommon advantages. You enter on your way with all the benefits of the labours, the travels, the profound thinking, the patient sufferings, the brilliant thoughts, the eloquence, the patriotism of all past time. You begin where those whom the world loves to remember and to immortalize, left off. You begin with the best thoughts of the profoundest thinkers of other times, on science, government, religion, and laws, as THE ELEMENTS on which you are to act. You begin with the mariner's compass, the quadrant, the printing-press, the blow-pipe, the telescope, as the instruments by which you may carry forward the triumphs of science, of literature, and of art. You gather the fruits of all the self-denials and the sacrifices; the profound studies; the skilful inventions, and the sufferings of past times. Every happy discovery; every useful invention; every improvement of the past has con-

tributed its part to the refinement and intelligence of the age in which you live. There has not been a philosopher who has not thought for you; not a traveller who has not travelled for you; not a defender of human rights who has not bled for you; not a profound student who has not contributed something to the general mass of knowledge which now blesses your condition; and not a martyr, the benefits of whose death you are not reaping in the religion whose smiles and sunshine you now enjoy. "Other men have laboured, and you enter into their labours." For you—if you will have it so—Plato and Bacon lived; for you, Galileo invented the telescope; Godfrey, the quadrant; Gioja of Amalfi discovered the properties of the magnet, and Fulton perfected the steam-engine; for you, Newton, and Herschell, and Kepler watched the stars of night; for you, Columbus discovered the New World; for you, Washington and Lafayette fought the battles of freedom; for you, Hancock, and Henry, and Ames, and Adams roused the nation to liberty; and for you, Marshall lived to explain the great principles of the Constitution. What an inheritance—rich above all the wealth of Crœsus, and honourable above all that coronets or crowns could give! All in liberty, in science, in religion, and in the arts that is valuable, is to be intrusted to you:—to *you*—to defend, to perfect, to transmit to future times.

It is much to have such an inheritance; much at the beginning of our way to be placed on such an eminence. It should not discourage us as if nothing remained to be done. When these names are looked at, it should stimulate us to greater efforts, by showing us what man may be, and what he is capable of effecting. Nor should we sit down disheartened, as if nothing remained to be done, as Alexander did on the throne of the world, because there were no other worlds to conquer. In every field of scientific research, and in every department of poetry, eloquence, and the arts, there remains enough to be

done to fill the highest measure of honourable ambition, or to gratify the highest love of investigation. In the science of astronomy—vast as seems our knowledge—yet how little, comparatively, do we know! We have named a small portion of the stars; we have determined the distance and periods of the worlds which compose the system to which we belong; we have even succeeded—after ages of unsuccessful effort—in determining the parallax of one—and but one—fixed star! But how little is known of those distant worlds! How little that may be known! For who can tell what more perfect instruments; more patient observation; more profound calculation; or perchance some new system of numbers that shall be to fluxions what fluxions were to simple geometry, may yet determine in respect to that magnificent array of systems, that shall fill man with more elevated conceptions of God! In the sciences of chemistry, of anatomy, of pure mathematics; in the application of science to the arts of life; we will add, in the sciences of morals and theology, how much yet remains to be known! Remember the modest and beautiful declaration of the aged Newton: "I do not know what I may appear to the world; but to myself I seem only to have been like a boy playing on the sea-shore, and diverting myself in now and then finding a smoother pebble or a prettier shell than ordinary, while the great ocean of truth lay all undiscovered before me."* A few shells have been picked up since his time, but the great ocean of truth remains still unexplored.

You will ask us what field is open in this land where an honourable reputation may now be gained? To this question, which a noble-hearted and ingenuous youth would ask, we would reply by saying, that in this country, at least, the whole field is still open. The measure of military reputation

* Brewster's Life of Newton, pp. 300, 301.

is, indeed, filled up, and the world will look hereafter with fewer smiles on the blood-stained hero than in days that are past. The time is coming, also, and is near at hand, when a man who attempts to defend his reputation by shedding the blood of another, will only exclude himself from all the expressions of approval and of confidence among men. Reputation is not to be gained, that will be of value, by brilliant verse that shall unsettle the foundations of faith and hope; that shall fill the heart with misanthropy, or that shall corrupt the heart by foul and offensive images. Sickening night-shades enough of this kind have already been culled, and twisted around the brows of those great in title or in talent. The sentiment has gone forth, not to be recalled, that he who is to be held in lasting, grateful remembrance, must base his claims on true virtue; on tried patriotism; on a generous love of the species; on the vindication of injured virtue; on great plans to advance the permanent welfare of man.

With this principle to act on, and this end in view, our land presents a field where to gain an honourable reputation as wide and glorious as the world has ever known. It is a land where there is enough intelligence to appreciate learning and talent; and where there is justice enough to do right to well-meant endeavours to defend our liberties or to promote the welfare of the race. It is a land where, if anywhere, a man may be sure that justice will be done to his name while living, and to his memory when dead. It is a land where a noble deed will strike far into coming times; and where its influence is to be felt in far distant parts of the world. For God has reserved this land as the theatre where all that is noble in freedom, pure in virtue, great in benevolence, lofty in patriotism, and rich yet, we trust, in eloquence and in song, is to be displayed.

Do you ask what can be done here to secure an honoured

name? We answer, the liberties of our land, bought with so invaluable blood, are to be defended, and transmitted, in their purity, to other times—and he deserves a grateful remembrance who contributes *any* thing, by private virtue or public service, to such a result. Every office is open for any young American as the reward of service rendered to the country; and there is not one in the gift of the people that may not be contemplated as possibly within the reach of any aspirant for a grateful remembrance. It is one of the glories of our system, that the path to the highest office is to be kept open to any one who may confer sufficient benefit on his country to show that it may be a suitable recompense for public services. And no human tongue can tell what youth now before us may yet enter on that high office, or in what humble cottage beyond the mountains the infant may now be sleeping that is yet to attain it.

"At the very time of the Congress of Aix-la-Chapelle, which settled the peace of Europe, in 1747," (we use the words of the historian of the United States,) "the woods of Virginia sheltered the youthful George Washington, the son of a widow. Born by the side of the Potomac, beneath the roof of a Westmoreland farmer, almost from infancy his lot had been the lot of an orphan. No academy had welcomed him to its shades, no college crowned him with its honours; to read, to write, to cipher—these had been his degrees in knowledge. And now, at sixteen years of age, in quest of an honest maintenance, encountering intolerable toil, cheered onward by being able to write to a school-boy friend, 'Dear Richard, a doubloon is my constant gain every day, and sometimes six pistoles,'—'himself his own cook; having no spit but a forked stick, no plate but a large chip,'—roaming over spurs of the Alleghanies and along the banks of the Shenandoah; among skin-clad savages, with their scalps and rattles, or uncouth emigrants 'that would never speak English;' rarely sleeping in a bed; holding

a bearskin a splendid couch; glad of a resting-place at night on a little hay, straw, or fodder, and often camping in the forests, where the place nearest the fire was a happy luxury—this stripling surveyor in the woods, with no companion but his unlettered associates, and no implements of science but his compass and his chain, contrasted strangely with the appearance of the Congress at Aix-la-Chapelle. And yet God had selected, not Kaunitz, nor Newcastle, not a monarch of the house of Hapsburg nor of Hanover, but the Virginia stripling, to give an impulse to human affairs, and, as far as events can depend on an individual, had placed the rights and the destinies of countless millions in the keeping of the widow's son."*

Every great department of science and literature also is open in this land; and here as elsewhere, also, there is no royal path to a name that shall live. Heaven, too, never conferred on any people a land, or so crowned its early history with events fitted to nurture all that is great in the human soul, as here.—The whole field of poetry is open. Greece had its Hesiod and Homer; Rome its Horace and Virgil; Italy has had its Petrarch and Dante; and we, in common with our fatherland, our Spenser, and Milton, and Cowper; but who, in our own land, is to stand forth, and on the rich materials of our early history, rear a name that "shall be more enduring than brass?"

We are, as a people, young. We have been much ridiculed across the waters. Our science and learning have been spoken of with contempt. About five-and-twenty years ago, it was asked, in a periodical that aimed to give law to the reading world, "Who reads an American book? There is, or was," it was said, "a Mr. Dwight; we believe his baptismal name was Timothy." Since that time, the writings of that same *Mr. Dwight*—of whom it was so doubtful whether he was

* Bancroft, iii. 467, 468.

then alive—have been more frequently reprinted in Great Britain than any work of theology which the three kingdoms have produced. And need we speak of Prescott, and Bancroft, and Irving, and Everett, and Pickering, and Duponceau, and Bowditch, names known in history, or eloquence, or letters, and destined to be, where history is read, or eloquence and learning honoured? At this day, many of the most popular and wide-diffused books in England are American; and there are not a few living men in this land, who, by their writings, are giving instruction to tens of thousands in the land where Milton and Shakspeare lived.

No young man ever could have desired a wider field to make his influence felt for good than the God of providence has opened before him now in this land. If he will, his influence may be felt for purposes of good on the other side of the globe. Perhaps in humbler spheres, but still enough to secure an honourable remembrance, he may associate his name with that of Wilberforce or Howard; he may show that he is not unworthy to live in the land of Franklin; he may show that he has greatness enough to appreciate the value of the liberties defended by Washington; he may so live, that the pure, the good, the fair will delight to strew flowers on his grave, and that the world will not willingly let his memory die. Here shall yet be realized what Berkeley saw in almost prophetic vision, when, though a foreigner, he looked with generous and noble feeling on this Western World. It was all fresh and new. Its hills towered to heaven; its rivers rolled with a majestic volume unknown across the ocean; it was just the place, reserved by Heaven, when corruption and decay were enstamped on all the Old World, for poetry, and song, and liberty, and science, and the arts, and pure religion to take up their abodes. Filled with these great anticipations, he sang:—

"In happy climes, the seat of innocence,
Where nature guides and virtue rules;
Where men shall not impose for truth and sense
The pedantry of courts and schools:—

There shall be sung another golden age,—
The rise of empire and of arts,—
The good and great inspiring epic rage—
The wisest heads and noblest hearts.

Not such as Europe breeds in her decay;
Such as she bred when fresh and young,
When heavenly flame did animate her clay,
By future poets shall be sung.

Westward the course of empire takes its way,
The first four acts already past,
A fifth shall close the drama with the day:
Time's noblest offspring is the last."

XIV.

*The Choice of a Profession.**

To those engaged in the cares and responsibilities of public or private life, there are few periods more grateful than when they are permitted to revisit the scenes of their own academic years, or the scenes where others are preparing to act their part in the world. It recalls to our minds the feelings which we ourselves had in our early life. It brings fresh to our remembrance our plans and prospects, our hopes and fears, when from the peaceful walls of a college we looked on the stormy ocean on which we were about to embark. It is a period when we cannot but compare the reality with the anticipation, and ask ourselves whether the world has been to us what we thought it would be; whether it has furnished us those pleasures which we expected; whether our plans were laid in wisdom, and whether we were then directed by right principles in the choice of a profession for life.

It is a duty, also, which we owe to those who are about to enter on public life, to come to them in the beginning of their way, and to commune with them in regard to their hopes and prospects, their duties and their dangers. If we have gained any knowledge by our experience, it is our duty freely to impart it to them. If we see dangers which they do not see, it is our duty to apprize them of those dangers. If we have discovered any important principles that have been of use to us,

* An address delivered before the Society of Inquiry in Amherst College, August 21, 1838.

it is our duty to communicate the fact to them. If we see any way of avoiding the temptations and dangers to which they will be exposed, we owe it to them, to the church, to our country, and to the world, to apprize them of it. If we have learned that it is desirable that any thing should be done when we are dead; that there are any great enterprises commenced which must stretch far into coming ages, and which can be completed only by those who are advancing to the stage of action, we owe it to them to apprize them of those plans, and to give them the results of our observation in regard to the best mode of executing them. And if our minds become impressed with the greatness of the work to be done; with the importance of any enterprise connected with literature, morals, religion, liberty, or the laws, what is more natural than that we should seek such an opportunity to urge the language of affectionate entreaty on those who are entering on the journey of life, and to conjure them to perfect that which our hearts desire when our hands shall be powerless and our tongues silent in death? We love to greet those who are just entering on life, with friendly salutations; and to welcome them to take part in the toils and in the honours of public life; and to assure them of our readiness to commit to them, under God, all that is dear in the interests of redemption and of liberty, when we shall be called away.

It is with feelings such as these, that those who are invited to address the young men in our colleges, at the periods of the annual commencements, come back from the cares and toils of public life. It is not to dictate; not to claim that we are superior in knowledge to those who preside over these institutions, or to imply that there is any defect of proper counsel or instruction there. It is to bring back from the world the results of experience; to give confirmation to the counsels of the instructors in colleges and seminaries; to endeavour to strengthen their hands by testimony that is impartial, and by

experience that is often dearly purchased; and to greet those who are entering on public life, with assurances of the deep interest which we feel in their welfare, and with the pledges that they will find in those who have gone before them men who will delight to be their counsellors and their friends.

The society which we are invited to address at this time, is a society of "Inquiry." Having for its object, primarily, indeed, the condition of the world at large as a field of future labour, it is not improper to suppose that it comes within the appropriate range of the inquiries of its members, to ask on what principles A PROFESSION ITSELF SHOULD BE CHOSEN; or, what should determine in regard to the course of life which they themselves shall pursue. To this inquiry, we propose now to ask your attention; and shall accomplish the object which we have in view, if we may be able to state appropriately the importance of this inquiry; the dangers of error; and the principles which should guide a young man in the choice.

Every young man is aware of the importance of this inquiry. He feels that every thing is concentrated on it; and at the same time, that there is no inquiry more perplexing, or more embarrassing. It is entered on in circumstances of the deepest interest; it is to be prosecuted in circumstances fitted to engross all his feelings and to command his most fixed attention. The anxieties of a father, and the tender solicitude of a mother, all centre here; and on this choice they feel that much, if not all that is connected with the welfare of the son of their affections, is dependent. His own hopes, also, all cluster around this investigation. He cannot but see that it is to determine all his future way of life. It is to fix his plans, his associates, his reading, his studies, his vocation; it is to determine his train of thought, and to give an entire direction to all his way through the world. We look upon young men in college life with interest analogous to that which we feel when

we see the ship making ready for sea, as she lies in the port, and as we see the waves ripple by her side. We know not as yet what is her destination; but we know that wherever she goes, she may encounter storms and tempests. Thus in regard to the young man who has not yet made choice of his profession. We know not what is to be his course of life; but we can apprize him of temptations, dangers, and toils, whatever may be his course; and tell him that *wherever* he goes, he will need all his manly courage, and all the principles of virtue with which he can fill his mind and heart. *When* he has made choice of his profession, we look upon him as we do on the gallant ship with her sails all set, as she glides along towards a *destined* port. We know that while there are storms and tempests which *may* meet her anywhere, yet we can now fix the eye more definitely on those dangers which beset her way. We think not of storms in general, but of trade-winds or levanters; of the storms of the frozen north; of the calms and currents that usually beset the way which she sails. So in the choice of a profession. There are common perils which beset man wherever he may be. But the choice of a profession gives a determination to those perils, and leads us to mark them with moral certainty.

At the same time, it is a choice which is not easily made. It is a situation where a young man must act for himself; and is, perhaps, usually the first thing that deeply affects his welfare on which he himself determines. His parents provide for his wants; his instructors impart to him knowledge;—his profession he must choose for himself. With all the light which he can derive from the experience of others on the subject, his own mind is to determine the question at last, and himself throw the die which is to decide his destiny. Yet how much knowledge is requisite to form his choice so that he will have no occasion to regret it, when at the close of life he shall look back on this period! How much knowledge of

himself; of his talents, tendencies, capabilities; of the qualifications requisite for a particular calling; of the temptations which may be in his way; of the kind of influences which may bear upon him; of the things which may be needful to contribute to his success, or the things which may impede his progress, when his all shall be dependent on success in that calling, and when it shall be too late to repair the errors of an improper selection.

The most important period, therefore, in a man's life, is that in which he makes choice of a profession. Some of the reasons of this are the following. One is, that that choice will do more than all other things to determine his *character*. The character of man is partly formed by the plans or objects which he has in view, and partly by the circumstances in which he is placed—the scenes by which he is surrounded, and the men with whom he is called to associate. It is true, that the original bent of the mind often, perhaps usually, determines the choice of a profession; and it is true, also, that the choice itself tends to arrest the development of certain traits of character, and to call others into vigorous and permanent existence. The choice fixes that which before was unfixed in character; gives resoluteness to that which was undertermined; suppresses many traits which before had a partial development; and which, if another profession had been chosen, might have been called into full operation; and developes resources which were before unknown to the man and to his friends. Illustrations of this obvious truth might be drawn from all the professions and callings of life. Until this choice is made, the mind and the passions are, often, like an untrimmed and untrained vine, left to grow with luxurious wildness and without restraint. The imagination roams over every object, and feels no special interest in any. The powers of mind are suffered to shoot forth in every direction, and the soul finds a pleasure in the untrammelled exercise of its own

exuberant faculties—as the boy finds a pleasure in the sport and play which braces all his muscles and gives vigour to his frame.

But when a profession is determined on, when the choice is made for life, the powers of the soul become settled in a definite direction; the attention is turned to a single object, and then points of character and powers of mind which have a bearing on that calling, are developed and fixed, and soon constitute all that we know of the man. Other traits of character are laid aside, or suppressed; other developments of mind are checked and restrained, and we know the man only by those which his chosen calling developes and nourishes. We are all familiar with the facts in regard to the bodily frame. The waterman developes fully one class of muscles, the smith another, the farmer another, the racer another, and the pugilist another. So it is in the choice of a profession in regard to the physical and moral powers. The choice of a military profession, for example, will leave uncultivated many principles and feelings which would have been called into exercise in mercantile life, or in the medical profession; it will quicken into energy many traits which, in those professions, might have lain dormant forever. The selection of an agricultural or mechanical employment, will suppress many traits of mind which would have been developed in the ministry or at the bar, and will give a permanency to traits which, in other callings, would have been scarcely known. The choice determines the objects to be aimed at; the current of the thoughts; the books that shall be read; and, to a large extent, the whole train of influences that shall come in and bear upon the character.

The same result follows from another circumstance. A man's character is very materially formed by the circumstances by which he is surrounded, by the objects with which he is conversant, by the character of men with whom he is

associated, by the plans which he of necessity forms to fill up the scheme of life. He who becomes a mariner, is surrounded by one set of influences and one class of men; a traveller to distant climes and among strangers by another; a man in political life by another; a merchant by another; a lawyer, a physician, or a minister of the gospel by others. He whose profession leads him to the gay and crowded city, is encompassed by one set of influences that bear on his character; he who spends his happier days in the sweet and quiet scenes of a country life by another. The whole course of life receives its colour and cast by the direction which is given to it at that eventful moment when the choice is made; like a stream whose waters receive their colour from the soil through which it runs, or its appearance from the rocks and trees which overhang its banks. And though to a young man making the choice, it may not *seem* to be important whether he shall turn in this direction or in that, yet the choice will send an influence ever onward through life, and mark all its future course, and its close. The waters of the St. Lawrence and the Mississippi rise near each other. Where they rise, it seems to be a small matter whether they flow to the north or to the south; and a slight difference in the elevation determines the direction of their flowing. Yet one portion, swelled by one set of streams, constituting "the father of rivers," runs on through almost a thousand leagues toward the equator; the other, swelled by accumulating lakes and rivers in another direction, pours its floods into the frozen seas of the north. They find their way to the ocean under different skies, and among different people, and in the remotest latitudes, as two young men starting together in life and determined by slight circumstances in regard to the choice of their respective callings, shall reach the ocean of eternity, having traversed far different regions, with far different characters, and having met with far different allotments in their earthly course. The events which

go to form the character, accumulate constantly to the end of life, determined by the choice that is made at first, like the accumulating waters of the river as it rolls on, augmenting its volume and its velocity, until life is lost in the broad ocean of eternity.

We may add here, that the importance of this choice is manifest from another circumstance. It usually determines a man's destiny not only in this life, but in an important sense in the life that is to come. It is not only the starting point which is to determine the amount of wealth, honour, and happiness which he is to possess in this world, but it strikes ever onward into those unknown regions which are beyond the grave. For it is rare that men change their calling in life. It is never done but with disadvantage. Once done, it subjects a man to the charge of fickleness, and does *something* to weaken the confidence of others in the stability of his principles. Twice done, or thrice, it seldom fails to ruin his character. Success in any calling, or in life at large, depends probably more than on any thing else, on stability of purpose and settled intention. Disaster follows in the train of revolution of character and of plan. When the magnet points steadily in one direction, the ship glides safely over the heaving billows; when it is unsettled and vacillating, every thing is in danger. When a man has once, therefore, made choice of a profession, every consideration of honour, of self-respect, and even the hope of success at all in life, will demand of him perseverance in the course which he has chosen. There is not a situation in his life which will not be affected by this choice; and the effects of that selection will not only meet him in his way through this world, but they will meet him in the interminable state of existence beyond the tomb.

Yet while the importance of this choice cannot but be felt by all, it is also apparent that it is a subject which is attended with great difficulty, and that there is great danger of erring

in regard to it. We allude particularly here to the young men of our own country; and we refer to those dangers of erring for the purpose of conducting us to the true principles on which the choice should be made. Any one who contemplates the state of mind when a profession is usually selected, will be sensible in a moment of the danger of error. It is, of necessity, in the commencement of life. It is when there has been but little observation of the world, and a most slender experience. It is where, from the nature of the case, the young man must be but very imperfectly acquainted with his own talents, and when his adaptedness to a particular calling has had but slight opportunity to develope itself. It is at a time of high anticipation, of gilded prospects, of cheering and delusive hopes. It is at a time when appeals are made to the senses, and when the allurements of ambition are held out to the view, and the glitter of wealth attracts the eye. It is a time when conscience is not always allowed to utter its stern admonitions, and when passion is in danger of usurping the place of principle, and the love of wealth or fame to take the place of the love of country and of God. And yet it is manifest, that if at any time of life conscience and sober reason and fixed principle should occupy the throne, it is at the time when a young man selects the course which he will pursue, and enters on the way which he is to tread through all the journey of life. This act, more than any other, should be such as shall abide the investigation of future years, and the calm retrospections of that period when the fires of youthful passion shall be extinct, and when life shall be about to be closed.

These dangers of error beset all young men, in all countries and at all times. But we wish particularly to ask your attention to some dangers in this matter, which, it seems to us, peculiarly beset the young men of this land. We would observe, then, that there is danger, in this nation, of undervaluing those callings in life on which the very existence of

our social organization depends, and of overvaluing those professions and callings which contribute in a very slight degree to the real welfare of society. There is danger that some professions will be crowded with greedy and clamorous aspirants, and that others, more happy, peaceful, and truly honourable, will be deemed disreputable, and, to a large extent, will be unoccupied. As an illustration of what we mean, we may refer you to the fact that in no nation, and at no time, have there been so many opportunities of amassing sudden wealth as in this land. The consequence is, that this has become almost the ruling passion in this nation, and that every avenue that promises to lead to wealth is crowded; every scheme is tried; every plan of enterprise, no matter how wild or hazardous, is entered on; and the nation, as such, is pre-eminently distinguished by this passion. The mightiest energies of the land are put forth with reference to this object; and mountains are levelled, and valleys are exalted, and the farthest streams are ascended under the mighty influence of the love of gain. Now the danger of which we speak is obvious. It is that of undervaluing the more slow and certain methods of gain with which our fathers were contented, and which were consistent with, and connected with the pure virtues of life, and with the calmness of domestic peace, and with the service of God. There is in this whole nation, a state of things that strongly tends to induce men to despise the principles which led Cincinnatus to love his plough, and Washington to delight in the scenes of Mount Vernon. And it is to be feared that there is many a young man entering on life who would deem it dishonour to emulate the hardy Roman, and disdain to act on the principles of the father of his country. And there is, perhaps, nothing in our land that threatens to strike a deeper blow at all that is valuable and pure than this insatiable love of gold. Let it never be forgotten by the young man that is entering on life, that all the virtues which

have thus far adorned our land, and all which *can* adorn it, are those which cluster around the pursuits of honest and sober industry. The cultivation of the soil, and the callings of sober and hardy toil, are not only consistent with, but are productive of the highest virtues; and our colleges and schools do not accomplish their purpose unless they impress those who are trained there with the conviction that there is no degradation in going from walls like these to hold the plough, and to cultivate the virtues and engage in the toils of what is usually deemed obscure and humble life.

Allied to this is another danger of error. In this nation every avenue to honour is likely to be crowded. Every office is open to any man; and it is well that the young men who are now coming on to the stage of action should be prepared to discharge the duties of the various offices in the gift of the people. But what we refer to is, that there is in this country an over-estimate of the value of office; that there is a desire to secure its avails and its honours which is unsettling the sober habits which become us as a people; that there is a choice of profession made often because it is supposed to be connected with the ultimate attainment of office; and that consequently the useful and somewhat humble professions are overlooked or despised. There is nothing more inexpressibly mean than the spirit of office-seeking; nothing in this land that is more humiliating to our pride as citizens and as men, than the scramble which is apparent everywhere for office, be it the presidential chair or be it the humblest function in the gift of a town meeting. And yet, while every high-minded and honourable man must despise this from his heart, it is probable that no small part of the young men in this nation are shaping their course, and selecting their calling with reference to future office,—perhaps some *thousands* now entering on life with the eye fixed on the highest office in the gift of the American people. And there has grown up among

us a publicity in self-nomination and self-recommendation as foreign to the true nature of our institutions as it is to the sober views of our fathers. To a large portion of such aspirants, life *must* be, as it should be, a series of disappointments. They have no talent for the rank which they seek; and the senate chamber or the cabinet need not their counsel. In every place they are destined to failure; or if successful, the happiness which they sought will have fled at their approach, and have left them to sadness and grief. The glitter of office allured and deceived them; and they who might have been happy, and virtuous, and respected in humbler life, become destitute of moral principle in seeking promotion, and forfeit the smiles of an approving conscience, and die with the conviction that they have lived in vain.

It is of great importance, therefore, to understand aright the principles on which the choice of a profession should be made. To some of those principles we now invite your attention.

The first which we mention is, that the most should be made of life that can possibly be made of it; and that that profession or calling should be selected where life can be best turned to account. Life is short at best; and we have no exuberant powers of mind or body to waste. "We all do fade," says the Bible, "as a leaf;" in the language of the bard of Avon, as "the seared and yellow leaf." Our day, even in its highest meridian glory, "hastens," as Wolsey said his did, "to its setting." In the arrangements and designs of divine Providence, life is crowded with vast and important purposes. All the interests of society, of learning, liberty, and order; of science, public morals, and religion, are to be preserved, and to be constantly augmented. We are to maintain our hold on what has been delivered to us from the past, and we are to transmit it unimpaired and augmented to future times.

There is at any one time talent enough on earth to accom-

plish all the purposes which society then needs for immediate use, or to perfect the improvements requisite to advance the interests of any community, or to adapt its affairs to a coming age,—as there is at any time an ample supply in the bosom of the earth of all the minerals which the necessities of the world shall demand. Yet that talent often slumbers,—as the vast mines of gold and silver lie unworked or useless from age to age. The circumstances which exist are not sufficient to call it forth; or it lies withered and prostrate by the prevalence of indolence; or the arrangements of society are not such as to give it play and power. There has been many a period of the world when the mighty powers of Napoleon would have lain dormant; and had not a storm and tempest been created that demanded such a spirit to preside over it and direct its fury, he might have lived and died an unknown Corsican. Nor can it be doubted that the world has contained many minds as capable as his was of concentrating the fury of battle, and of drenching the earth in blood, and of transferring crowns, had the occasions existed for calling such talent forth. Demosthenes and Cicero were not the only men in ancient times who were endowed with a talent for eloquence. Leonidas was not the only man whose patriotism would have made him willing to bleed at Thermopylæ. Tell and Wallace were not the only men who have been endowed with love of country adapted to resist tyranny; and Luther was not the only man that was fitted to break the chains of spiritual despotism, and to conduct the world through the fiery and stormy times of spiritual revolution. This thought was long since expressed in the well-known, beautiful language of Gray:—

"Full many a gem of purest ray serene
The dark unfathomed caves of ocean bear;
Full many a flower is born to blush unseen,
And waste its sweetness on the desert air.

> Some village Hampden that with dauntless breast,
> The little tyrant of the fields withstood;
> Some mute inglorious Milton here may rest,
> Some Cromwell guiltless of his country's blood."

But talent is not only buried; a large part of the genius and enterprise of the world is perverted and wasted. That which might have been called forth in the defence of liberty and learning, and the pure institutions of religion, is employed for purposes of conquest, oppression, pollution, and blood. It is melancholy to look over the past history of the world; and it is almost equally melancholy to contemplate the existing facts on this subject in the cities and towns even of our own land. It is sad to think how much has been done by perverted talent to open fountains of tears, and to dig the grave of liberty and of happiness and of virtue. It is sad to think that the highest powers of mind are often called into their most vigorous exercise in our world only to augment human misery, and to prolong the reign of sin. Every man is fitted by nature for some particular walk in life; and to find that course is the great secret of a proper selection of a profession. Yet an error is often made; and a struggle exists ever onward between the tendencies of genius cramped and fettered, and the forced and fitful efforts which are demanded by the selected calling. In that chosen calling the soul never can rise. It has no love for its work; it has no adaptedness to it. It is a stranger in that walk of life; and life there is a sad and unsuccessful struggle, a forced and unnatural way. "The stars in their courses" seem to "fight against" the man. His character may be without reproach; but life is ended and nothing valuable is done; and it is manifest to all that he never found the path for which the God of nature designed him. Life, too, is wasted in enterprises that are useless when they are accomplished. Talent exhausts itself in an effort to erect some huge pile that shall attract the wonder of the world; some plan of

building a pyramid or a splendid mausoleum; or some design of making a book profound in speculation remote from all practical utility, and separate from all the common purposes of life. With almost equal sadness of thought, a man will look on the useless piles which the pride of Egyptian monarchs reared, and walk through a vast library surrounded by massive tomes, useless monuments of the mighty dead. So life is wasted in the play and blaze of genius, as if it delighted to revel in the mere sportiveness of its own powers. Thus poems, and novels, and romances are the creations of genius that delights in the play of its own powers,—powers often, in regard to the great practical purposes of life, utterly wasted. So talent is worse than wasted in scenes of dissipation and in sin. Heavy curses roll from lips from which

> "the violated law might speak out
> Its thunders,"

> "in strains as sweet
> As angels use, the gospel whispers peace.

And plans of infamy are formed in hearts that might originate schemes that would bless benighted nations; and frames vigorous and manly, that might bear the cold of northern snows or the heat of Arabian deserts in diffusing civilization and Christianity, are blasted and wrecked in the loathsome scenes of dissipation and vice. So talent is worse than wasted in enterprises that are pernicious and ruinous. It is exhausted in schemes of conquest; it binds down mind, and fetters the energies of nations by irresistible laws; it invents instruments of cruelty, and drenches nations in blood. Of all the monuments of past times, how few record the advances in the arts and sciences; how few tell of the progress of morals and of piety. How many have been reared to tell only of battle, and of deeds of conquest and cruelty. How many triumphal

arches are over the grave of freedom; how many lofty pillars are reared to tell only where some master spirit of wickedness triumphed over civil liberty and the rights of unoffending nations. Perhaps one of the most comprehensive descriptions of our world would be, that it is a world of wasted and perverted talent; a world where immense powers of mind have either slumbered, or have blazed, meteor-like, for naught; or been called forth for purposes of cruelty and blood. And it is so now. How much of life is wasted! How often does genius exhaust itself in some wild, impracticable, and visionary object, that mocks all the rules of wisdom, and makes certain its own defeat! How many men sink down to the grave with scarcely a monument set up all along their way to tell their friends, or their country, or the church of God, that they ever lived! And even of the numbers that go forth from our colleges annually, how few seem to start with the purpose to make the most of life, or to turn it to any purpose that shall permanently affect the destinies of men!

God did not design that it should be so. He did not call the powers of mind into existence for naught. He has created in any given generation only so much talent as is adapted to fulfil all the great purposes, moral, intellectual, social, and religious, of that generation. And he has made enough for all those purposes. If they are perverted, abused, wasted, society is a loser, and its progress is put back. The evil strikes at the heart of the social organization, and cannot, perhaps, be repaired for ages. If these powers are called forth for useless objects, to gratify the fancy merely, it is as though they had not been made; if in schemes of conquest, and rapine, and fraud, and piracy, they put back the advancement of the race; if they are excited by an unnatural stimulus, under the baneful influence of intoxicating fires, they exhaust themselves with the unnatural energy, and wear out the system, like a machine without balance-wheel or governor, where the accumulating

and terrible force soon tears it to pieces, and spreads ruin all around it.

Every thing in life, therefore, depends on the right direction which shall be given in the choice of a calling. Nearly all the evils which have resulted from perverted and wasted talent, or from slumbering energies, might have been avoided by a proper direction in the commencement; and all might have been avoided by a settled purpose to make the most of life. "You are a great fool," said a fellow-student to Paley when he was wasting his early years in a course of dissipation. "You have talent which might raise you to the highest distinction. I have none, and it matters not how my life is spent." Paley took the hint so roughly given; and his subsequent course is well known. There is no name in the English Church, perhaps, that should stand higher than his; there are few in the vast circles of English literature whose just fame shall be more extensively or permanently recorded. And so in all cases of perverted and ruinous talent. The author of Childe Harold *might* have sung in strains as pure, as full of sweet benevolence, and as much fitted to benefit men, as the author of the Task; and the author of the Waverley, that mighty man whose productions are so far diffused and which exert now such an influence—an influence which *must* wane when the world shall come to love truth more than fiction,—*might* have employed his talents in productions that should have gone down to remotest times with the Novum Organum, the Treatise on the Understanding, or the Paradise Lost.

The first principle, therefore, which should guide in the choice of a profession is, that the most should be made of life; that talent should not be suffered to exhaust itself for naught; and should not be expended in wild and ruinous enterprises. The second which we suggest is, that where there is a fitness for either of two or more courses of life, a young man should

choose that in which he can do most to benefit his fellow-men. Society is organized on the principle, that any lawful employment will not only not injure, but will advance the happiness of the whole community, as the movement of each part of a well-constructed machine will not only not embarrass, but will promote the harmonious and regular operation of every other part. A man commonly chooses a calling with a primary reference to his own interest, with a view to a livelihood, or to a well-earned reputation. And the Great Author of human happiness has so arranged the various relations and dependencies of society, that while this is the main object, yet in any lawful employment the welfare of the whole shall be promoted. The farmer, the lawyer, the merchant, the physician, the clergyman, at the same time that he may be in the main pursuing his own interest, is the source of benefit to all the other departments of society. For illustration, it is undoubtedly true, that every man *might* be his own physician, and in some way prescribe for his own maladies, and those of his family. But it is a *saving* in time, expense, and happiness, that there should be men regularly trained in the healing art, and who should devote their time to it. Although the principle which prompted the man to embrace the medical profession may have been, in the main, the promotion of his own welfare, the securing of an honest livelihood, and the earning of an honourable reputation, he is at the same time promoting the happiness of all others, and the welfare of society at large. So it is with all other lawful professions. Nor are there any callings which are an exception to this, except those which involve a violation of the laws of God. And perhaps there is no more direct way of deciding on the propriety of any calling in life than by determining the question whether it will or will not advance the happiness of others. Any man in a lawful occupation will be at every step of his life contributing to the welfare of all the other departments of society.

It is undoubtedly true, also, that the God of nature has fitted every man to some particular calling in life; and that it is in virtue of this original adaptation, in connection with providential arrangements, that the several professions are filled, and that the wheels of society are made to move on in harmony. Many a man, for instance, is by nature unfitted to be a preacher of the gospel. There is an utter and insuperable want of adaptedness in his mental powers, in his temperament, and in his propensities, for such a work. And in like manner there are men who are unfitted to be merchants. There is something about their original structure of mind, or their temperament, that utterly forbids success. So many a man has no mechanical genius; many a man has no qualification for public and official life. With this fact we are all familiar, alike in relation to the most elevated and to the humblest employments; and the divine agency in appointing, and in perpetuating and superintending this diversity of gifts, is one of the most striking proofs of a controlling Providence. It is like the economy which has placed pearls in one part of the earth, and diamonds, and gold, and the ruby, and the topaz in others; or which has made one soil and climate adapted to the production of aromatics; another to the production of rich and healthful fruits; another eminently to plants of medicinal virtue, that thus the world may be united in one great brotherhood, mutually dependent and harmonious.

But, on the other hand, it is also true that many a man may be almost equally fitted for any one of two or more different occupations. He may not be a universal genius. But he may have such a structure of mind and such moral qualifications that he may, with equal safety in regard to ultimate success, select any one of two or more callings in life; and the principle which we are now stating is, that he should select that in which he may most permanently and widely affect favourably the destiny of his fellow-men. The industry, the

skill, and the cool calculation, for instance, which are so valuable in the mercantile profession, why may it not be turned to account in the great work of the conversion of the world? and why may it not be supposed, that in the mercantile calling there is many a man whose duty it was to have devoted his talents for business to the designs of the salvation of mankind? The eloquence and the power of thought which are required in the defence of violated rights at the bar, why may they not be equally appropriate and powerful in persuading men to be reconciled to God? And is it an unreasonable thought, that there are many men in the legal profession who would better have accomplished the great ends of society had their talents been consecrated to the service of God the Saviour? The manly argument, and the pure diction on which "listening senates" hang, why may they not be equally mighty in making known the redemption of the world by the Son of God, and in vindicating the ways of God to man? And is it uncharitable to suppose that there is many a greedy aspirant for office; many a man qualified to give counsel in the affairs of state, who might have more permanently benefited society and the world by devoting his powers to the ministry of reconciliation? The lofty and daring enterprise that will climb the mountain and ascend the stream; that will cross the ocean and traverse burning sands, for adventure or for gold, why may it not exhibit as noble daring in making known, amid the snows of the north and the burning climes of the equator, the name of the Saviour? And is it unfair to suppose that there may be many a young man in this nation endowed with this talent for daring enterprise, who is wasting his powers and prostrating his energies for that which shall produce no permanent good effect in society, who might have made his influence felt in the nations that are now sitting in the region and shadow of death?

Now where this equal adaptedness to one of two or more

professions exists, the principle which should regulate the choice is an obvious one. It is not to be regulated by the love of adventure, or fame, or gold, or ease. It is to be directed by a desire to make the most of that talent in furthering the interests of man. A young man should not infer that because his talents are fitted to a mercantile life, or to the bar, or to the medical profession; or because he supposes he could gain an honourable distinction in the councils or the cabinets of the nation, that *therefore* he is to choose that line of life. He may be also fitted to a calling that shall tell on the welfare of the world, and on the destinies of eternity; and *if so*, his way is clear and his course is plain. The gratification of self; the love of honour and of gold; the fondness for ease, or the thirst for applause, is to be sacrificed to the nobler pursuit; and he is to evince the highest attainments of mind in showing how all these can be subdued in the elevated purpose of doing the most that can be done to promote the welfare of man.

We proceed to the statement of a third principle which should regulate the choice of a profession. It is, that we are to select that where we can call most auxiliaries to our aid, either those already existing in society, or which we may be able to originate for the accomplishment of our plans. Man can accomplish little alone. His own arm, if solitary, is feeble. His own plans, unless he can enlist the co-operation of other minds, will be powerless. Alexander could have accomplished nothing in the conquest of the world, if he had had no power of acting on other minds. Luther could have done little for the Reformation, if he could not have called to his aid other minds, and if he could not have commanded the mighty power of the press. If a man wishes to accomplish much, it must be in connection with combination and alliance. And he who wishes to effect any valuable purpose in life, will throw himself as much as possible into those central places of power from

which he may be able to act on the objects which surround him. If he can, he will make the winds, and the waves, and the streams subservient to his will; he will seize upon those positions of influence which shall most extensively subsidize to his purpose the voluntary efforts and the plans of his fellow-men, and make them tributary to his own. How much man may multiply his power by the aid of machinery; how much may he augment his influence by seizing upon the press; how far may he extend his agency by placing himself in central points of action, and seeking to radiate his moral influence in all directions. There never has been a period of the world where he might call to his assistance so many auxiliaries in the accomplishment of his plans as at present; there never has been a time when he could so certainly reach and affect all parts of society, or set in motion a train of operations that shall continue to expand themselves when he is dead, as the circles in the smooth lake extend to the distant shore long after the pebble has sunk to the bottom. Such points and centres of influence are not now extensively to be originated. They are made ready to our hands as we enter on life. No small part of the discoveries in science, and the inventions in the arts, have resulted in the creation of such centres of moral power; and when we enter on life they are all around us. The various professions; the press; the public offices; the seats of learning; the institutions of benevolence, are all such central points of moral influence, and are all soon to be filled and directed by the coming generation. He makes the wisest choice in a profession, who places himself where he can call most of these auxiliaries to his aid; where he can most effectually bind himself to the great departments of society; and where he can bring into subserviency to his own plans most of those powers which are adapted to act on the minds of men.

We may add here, that, at present, there is no one position

in society where a young man may call more of those auxiliaries to his aid than the pulpit. It is, as it was designed to be, the centre of moral power in the world; and to the advancement of its designs the progress of society will more and more contribute.

> "The pulpit (in the sober use
> Of its legitimate and sober powers)
> Must stand acknowledged, while the world shall stand,
> The most important and effectual guard,
> Support, and ornament of Virtue's cause."

We do not mean that there is, or that there should be, any superstitious deference paid to it. We do not mean that it has, or should have, any power, as in the past, to control the faith of men, or to punish them for unbelief. We do not mean that it should interfere with the freedom of the most unfettered inquiry. We do not mean that the incumbent in the sacred office should expect to make his way by dictation or by authority; by the aid of dungeons, stripes, and chains; or by the magic power of bands and surplices—of titles and of the crosier. These times have gone by, and they will no more return. But it is by the power of argument and persuasion; the power which is to go forth from an irreproachable character and consistent life; the power which learning and elevated worth are to command, and must command; the power arising from the deference which is to be paid, and which will be cheerfully paid, by schools and seminaries of learning to those who are worthy of the sacred office; and the power of acting on the destinies of men through the press. We may add, also, that the work of the ministry is that alone which shall be permanent. On every thing else is passing the hand of death and decay. Your houses and your palaces will all fall to ruin. Your schemes of honour and wealth will come to an end. The very cities and towns where you live will decay.

The solid earth, "the cloud-capped towers, the solemn temples," the gorgeous palaces, and the great globe itself will dissolve. The ancient monuments of art and power even now are decayed. Where is the pride of Babylon? Where is the splendour of Palmyra? Where the glory of Thebes? Where the monuments of the conquests of Alexander and of Cæsar? Where are the beautiful productions of ancient art? All, all, either wholly gone, or sunk amid vast ruins? Where are the monuments of the work of the ministry? In the ransomed spirit; in the sweet peace of a Christian's dying bed; in hearts transformed; in virtues to bloom forever; in souls that are immortal; in the glories of the resurrection; in the crown incorruptible and unfading;—by the river of life and amid the splendours of heaven.

We state, as a fourth principle which is to guide in the choice of a profession in this land, that that should be chosen which will do most to perpetuate the liberties of our country. That liberty is to be preserved, as it was gained, by the prevalence of sound morals, and general intelligence, and self-denying patriotism. It is to be done at all hazards, and by the best talent and blood in the land. The civil and religious liberty which we enjoy, and which the young men who are coming on the stage of action are soon to inherit, has cost some of the best blood that has flowed in human veins, and is the richest blessing which is now enjoyed in this world. We of this generation are availing ourselves of the self-denials and toils, the counsels, plans, and wisdom of all past times. The results of the best efforts of liberty are ours; the results of the profoundest thoughts and plans of patriots and sages of all past times are concentrated in our constitution, and constitute the life-blood of our freedom. There is not one of the ancient sages and heroes who has not contributed a part to our liberty; not an ancient lawgiver the results of whose profound plans are not with us. What time, and talent, and patriotism have

been able in all past generations to achieve for men has been conferred on us, and is all concentrated here, and embalmed and embodied in our institutions.

It is not, therefore, merely a personal matter that this should be preserved and transmitted to future times. It is not merely to make our own land blessed and happy. All the world, all future times, have an interest in the preservation of our liberty. It belongs to the world. We have received it from the past to be perpetuated and transmitted unimpaired to future times and to distant lands. There is not a tribe of men so obscure that they have not an interest in the preservation of American freedom; nor will there be a generation in ages to come, no matter how remote the period, that will not be affected and influenced by the preservation of the principles of our liberty.

All that is valuable in that liberty; all that is precious in our institutions, is soon to be committed to those who are about to make choice of a profession for life. The young men who now ponder this question will soon inherit all:—an inheritance far more valuable than the most brilliant diadem which ever adorned the brow of royalty, or the proudest sceptre which a monarch ever swayed. They will possess the lands and gold of their fathers; they will preside and instruct in our seminaries of science; they will sit down at our tables, and repose on our beds; they will traverse these hills and vales as their own; they will be seated on our benches of justice, and occupy the places of our senators, and deliberate in our halls of legislation; they will proclaim the truths of the gospel in our pulpits; they will be in possession of all the offices in the gift of the people. There is nothing in all this vast and rich land which will not be theirs. It is not to be regarded, therefore, as a matter of wonder that the public eye is turned with deep interest on the young men of this nation. The world is favourably disposed toward young men. It is

ready to commit all into their hands. It asks only that they should show themselves worthy of the invaluable trust which is about to be committed to them. And in order to this, the eye of public vigilance is on the principles and the conduct of every young man. There is an interest felt in him proportionate to the value of the great interests at stake. The character and the conduct of every young man is, and should be, known. Their respective claims to public confidence are gauged and recorded; and these inestimable benefits will be committed to them in proportions adapted to their talents, their attainments, and their moral worth. Probably there is not on earth a nation where the conduct of young men excites so deep solicitude as in our own; probably nowhere else is their character so accurately marked and understood; probably nowhere is there a public vigilance which so nearly resembles the all-seeing eye of God, as that which exists in this land in regard to the conduct and character of young men. And this is as it should be. It indicates a state of public mind conscious of the high trust about to be confided to them,—healthful in its action, and jealous of liberty. It is solicitude growing out of the deep feeling which pervades all this land that we have the richest inheritance of the world, and that it is to be transmitted unimpaired to future times and to distant lands.

Now it is to be a fixed principle in the choice of a profession, that this liberty is to be preserved. Every young man is to seek to place himself in a position where, in consistency with other duties, he may do most to transmit it to other times, and send it abroad to other lands. If eloquence is needed to defend it, he is to maintain its great principles in the senate chamber and in the halls of legislation. If the press is to preserve it, he is to control and direct the press. If learning is necessary, he is to qualify himself to preside in our seminaries of learning, and to be willing to instruct the

humblest common school, that the principles of liberty may live in the lowest ranks of the people. And if it be needful that blood should be shed again, his is to flow like that of our fathers, freely as water, that the rich inheritance may be preserved. He fills up one of the highest obligations to God and to human rights; discharges one of the most sacred of all duties to society and human happiness, who consecrates elevated talents and profound learning to the preservation of American freedom. Be it, therefore, a first and a fixed principle in the choice of a profession, that that liberty is to be preserved. You are to die—to die freely—on the field which our fathers fertilized with their blood, rather than to suffer a successful assault to be made on the principles of our civil and religious freedom. You are to make it one of the elementary principles and guides of life, that LIBERTY—the liberty of thought and speech; the liberty of opinion and of discussion; the liberty which is checked by nothing but the restraints of wholesome law; liberty in the church, liberty in the state, liberty in the pulpit, and the liberty of the press, the liberty of man everywhere, is to be the grand purpose of the soul, —interwoven with all your plans; promoted with all your learning and talents; secured with whatever official influence you may ever have; and defended, if necessary, with your heart's blood.

A fifth principle is, that our religion is to be perpetuated. The religion of our fathers is to go with all their sons, and is to abide with them, and is to influence them. It is to spread all over our hills, and all through our vales, and is to plant schools, and colleges, and churches there. This land has been reserved by God as if to make a grand experiment to show that man may be free, and that religion, unsupported by the state, can be preserved. On every part of this vast republic, spires are to point to heaven to tell that this is the land of the Christian's God. If our brethren wander away from the land

of schools and churches to the wilderness; if, when they go from the sound of the Sabbath bell, they forget the Sabbath, and the Bible, and the place of prayer; if, when they leave the place where their fathers sleep in their graves, they forget the religion which sustained and comforted them, our sons are to follow them into the wilderness, and remind them of the commands of God. If they go for gold, they are to be followed with the admonitions of heavenly wisdom, and to be recalled to virtue and to God. None of them are to be suffered to go to any fertile vale or prairie of the West without the institutions of the gospel; nor are they to be suffered to construct a hamlet, or to establish a village, or to build a city, that shall be devoted to any other god than the God of our fathers. By all the self-denials of benevolence; by all the force of persuasion; by all the power of argument; by all the remembrances of the early days of the republic, they are to be persuaded to plant there the Rose of Sharon, and to make the wilderness and the solitary place to be glad, and the desert to blossom as the rose. And that young man who makes choice of a profession, is to make this one of the grand elements in that choice, that this whole nation, from the Atlantic to the Pacific, is to be imbued with the gospel of Christ. It is to spread everywhere; and his talents are to contribute all they can be made to contribute to that end.

We suggest but one other principle which should guide in the choice of a profession, and on that there is not time to enlarge. It is based on the fact that this world is to be converted to God. It is with reference to this, that the society which we are now permitted to address, has been formed. Amid all the uncertainties of the future; all that is dubious in regard to the revolutions and changes which are to take place on earth, this is fixed and settled. It is the *only* thing in the distant future in this world, on which the eye can repose without danger of mistake, for this has been fixed by the sure word of God's

unchanging covenant and promise. Political sagacity can look but a little distance, and that only by uncertain conjecture, into future scenes. A thousand things which the keen eye of the Burkes and Cannings of the world cannot discover in the future, may modify anticipated changes, and render void the plans of the profoundest political sagacity. But no such unseen modifying causes can affect the predictions of Him who has foretold the conversion of the world. He saw the end from the beginning. He saw all the revolutions of states and empires. He saw all the plans of statesmen, and all the results of wars and revolutions; and he has made it a matter of public record, that the period is to come when "the wilderness and the solitary place shall be glad, and the desert blossom as the rose;" when "the wolf shall dwell with the lamb, and the leopard shall lie down with the kid, and the earth shall be full of the knowledge of the Lord as the waters cover the sea." In the divine purposes it is settled; in the promises of the everlasting God it is fixed; and the time shall arrive when

> "The dwellers in the vales and on the rocks"

shall

> "Shout to each other, and the mountain tops
> From distant mountains catch the flying joy;
> Till, nation after nation taught the strain,
> Earth rolls the rapturous hosannah round."

The world is to be recovered to God. No matter how degraded it is—no matter how polluted—no matter how sunken; all its lands of pollution and defilement are to be made as lovely as the "sweetest village that smiles on a Scottish or New England landscape." No matter what it may cost; the purposes of God are to be fulfilled. No matter how many of our young men are to go forth, consecrated to this work, the nation must be willing that they should go and lay their bones

on the banks of the Senegal or the Ganges—in burning sands or amid the snows of the North. No matter how many fall as martyrs, their places are to be supplied. If other Lymans and Munsuns are to fall by the hand of violence, Amherst and other colleges are to send forth those who will hail it as a privilege to tread in their steps, and to die, if God so will it, as they died. Let the heathen world become full of martyrs, and every vale be filled with the rough stones that mark the graves of murdered missionaries, or with graves which not even the humblest monument shall point out to the passing traveller, still the world is to be converted to God; and the work is to be pursued until the time shall come when even in those lands the same honour shall be rendered to the names of the murdered men which the world now cheerfully pays to the names of Ignatius and Polycarp, of Latimer, and of Cranmer.

It is to be an elementary principle in the choice of a profession, that this world is to be converted to Jesus Christ. It is to form the basis on which that choice is to be made. It is to be one of the points which are assumed as true; and to promote that object is yet to be one of the main purposes which is to influence young men in making that choice. Whatever is needful for that is to be done; whatever would retard that —whatever would not in some way promote it, is to be deemed a course of life that is a departure from the divine purposes, and an object which lies out of the appropriate sphere of human effort. And the time will come at no distant period,—and should be now regarded as already come by every young man, —that no one has entirely correct views in the choice of his profession, who has not admitted it as an elementary and a leading principle in his choice, that all the miseries of men should be alleviated and will be alleviated by the prevalence of the gospel of Christ, and that his talents are to be consecrated in their appropriate sphere in augmenting human hap-

piness; in removing the evils of cruel laws, and degrading rites, and bloody institutions—of ignorance, and superstition, and pollution, throughout the entire world. Be it a fixed principle, that the light of truth, like that of a clear summer's morning, is yet to be diffused over all the darkened hills and vales of this world; that the banner of salvation is to float in broad and ample folds, "all covered o'er with living light," everywhere on earth; and that, under the influence of well-directed effort, every pagan temple is yet to be left without a priest, and every pagan altar without a sacrifice.

XV.

*Practical Preaching.**

THE subject to which your attention will be invited, at this time, is *practical preaching*. The design is so to discuss it as to present as far as possible a view of the preacher's power and province. In other words, we desire to consider the question, how may a preacher make the most of his office and influence in regard to the salvation of the world. In order to understand what is meant, it is necessary to distinguish this from two other kinds of discourse, which have often been deemed the appropriate province of the preacher.

The first may be characterized as that which is contemplative, pious, and consoling. It rather assumes that there *is* a church to be edified, than that the mighty task is to be undertaken of recovering a church from a ruined world; rather that an edifice *is* reared which needs only that its proportions should be preserved; its beauty kept from defacings; than that a man is to enter amid ruins, to engage in rearing an edifice from the foundation. He who goes to this work, goes to speak words of consolation; to recount the privileges of those whom he addresses; to dwell with pious contemplations on their hopes, and their elevations over a less favoured portion of mankind. The aim of the preacher is not so much to convert, as to sanctify the soul; not so much to press the empire of God into regions of surrounding desolation and night, as to keep and cultivate the territory

* An address delivered before the Porter Rhetorical Society, in the Theological Seminary, Andover, September 10, 1833.

already gained. It assumes that in a time and manner over which the preacher has no control, the benignant purposes of God toward man will be manifested; and that the main end of the ministry is to retain the jurisdiction which God has already gained by his power. It cannot be denied that many men have felt themselves called to this special undertaking; and it would not be easy to deny that entire systems of divinity have received their form from some such views of the design of the preacher. That such preaching is not useful will not be affirmed; and that a talent for it may be eminently fitted to do good, will not here be called in question. It is pious, contemplative, edifying;—and it is a very important department of the great design of redemption, to train the recovered faculties of man for glory. The work of cultivating a field regained from the desolations of the wilderness, of making the landscape smile where before all was barren, may be as important, in some respects, as that more hardy and daring enterprise which plunges into the forest, and encounters cold, and tempests, and streams, for the purpose of recovering sites for towns and empires from the far-extended wastes. The design of noticing this is merely to distinguish it from that kind of preaching which is to be the subject of this address.

The second kind of preaching from which we wish to distinguish the subject before us, may be termed *speculative*. It may be of high intellectual character, and may call into exercise the highest endowments of the imagination, and the profoundest talents of thinking. It may draw from the stores of ancient learning; or it may revel much in splendid visions of what shall yet occur on our own globe. The single point on which we are remarking is, that it does not contemplate any direct and mighty movement on the spirits of men in converting them to Jesus Christ. It does not design an overpowering aggression on the works of darkness, and on the mighty mass of evil which has reared its strongholds in every land, and in every human bosom. It delights in abstractions; in unusual thoughts; in acute dis-

tinctions; in efforts to push inquiry into regions hitherto untrodden by the foot of man. If sin receives a blow from the preacher, it is rather some "wicked abstraction" than any living reality. If an onset is made, it is rather on the regions of darkness, as a theoretic movement, than on any living and active forms in which error and sin have embodied themselves.

It cannot be denied that the temptation to this kind of preaching is, to certain minds, very great, perhaps almost irresistible. For every gifted youth in the ministry finds an influence which is constantly diffusing a paralysis over humble endeavours to do good, in the thought that, to accomplish it, he must travel over a path which has been worn hard by the tread of centuries. In a path so long trodden, he feels that no flower blooms that will diffuse its fragrance on the way; and no wild, romantic, and luxuriant prospect shall gratify him with the feeling that it has been unseen before. He seeks rather to strike into new regions of thought, into some untrodden wild, which, though it may be uncultivated, and may be less useful, shall yet produce here and there rich and varied flowers, to gratify the taste for the original, the beautiful, or the sublime.—Perhaps no young man of genius ever yet entered the ministry without pensive feelings that the road which he is to tread is the beaten path of ages; and that in his chosen profession, he is to lay aside, to no small degree at least, the idea of originality. The very pensiveness of this feeling becomes a temptation to make the pulpit the place where genius may revel in its own creations, and speculation may push the boundaries of thought into hitherto undiscovered regions.

In no profession is a temptation like this so strong as in ours. We cannot take a step in our investigations without feeling that we are hemmed in on every side. We are amid a little glimmering of light on the great subjects on which we preach; we become at once perplexed and embarrassed by the little distance which we can see and traverse; and the mind feels an instinct-

ive desire to attempt not merely to traverse the territory which is known, but to press the limits of knowledge farther into adjacent darkness, and extend at least the true light of discovery into new fields of thought. Who is there entering into the ministry, that cannot present many topics of inquiry that now embarrass him, and where he seems to be fettered from taking one step in his work until more light is shed on the dark theme?

There is another temptation still to this kind of preaching. There may be men in the ministry, as in all other professions, who enter it, and still more, who engage in its duties, not so much with the distinct desire of accomplishing some definite work of conversion to Christ by each discourse, as to give play to inventive genius; to profound discussion; to the mere love of putting forth gigantic efforts; and even to indulge in the wantonness and play of the fancy. There is pleasure in the mere exercise of mind, and especially on the subject of theology. Mind delights in its own efforts, and often finds satisfaction in the mere putting forth of its own energies, or in surveying the beautiful or massive structures which itself has reared. The poet does not often give play to the exercise of his powers, like Milton, with the long-cherished purpose of making a book "that the world would not willingly let die." It is because poetic talent finds compensation for the toil in its own movements or development. Who can believe that Cowper or Burns had an eye to either money or fame, as the impelling principle of their efforts? Thus, too, men may write and study in the ministry, and it may become a profession which a talent for discussion may choose, and where the powers of a mighty mind may find ample space for the most expansive employment. Thus, Jeremy Taylor seemed to live amid the creations of his own boundless fancy, and to have revelled amid the choicest productions of inventive genius,—the poetry of theology,—simply because he found his high pleasure amid such creations. And thus, too, Robert Hall seemed to have

often found his high happiness in being lost amid the rapturous contemplations of truths on which the human mind had not gazed before, and which, perhaps, were too bright for the contemplation of any of the ordinary powers of mortal vision.

Against such revellings of the fancy, and such creations of transcendent genius, it is proper not to use one word implying disparagement or censure. We should rather bless God that he has conferred such gifts on men. They are proofs of man's immortality; stupendous demonstrations of what the powers of man *may be* when completely recovered from the fall. They evince with unanswerable demonstration, that man is endowed with native powers that pant to burst every shackle, and to range those fields of living light which Christianity alone has revealed as adapted to the eternal development of mind. The only design of introducing a notice of this kind of preaching is to distinguish it from the subject before us. Grand and rich as all this may be, yet it is not adapted to produce the effect which we wish in this address to describe.

In speaking of *practical preaching*, we wish to describe that which is adapted to produce an immediate and decided effect on men, or that which contemplates the most speedy and mighty results which the gospel is fitted to produce, if it is allowed to have its full influence on individuals and communities, and on the wide world. Our object is to describe the kind of preaching which is best adapted to exert an influence over each thought, and purpose, and plan; over individuals and nations; that which shall spread over the farthest fields of influence, and result in the most speedy and numerous conversions of souls to Jesus Christ. Or in other words, we wish to show *why* this object should be aimed at; and what means are at the disposal of the preacher, under the aid of the Holy Spirit, to accomplish it.

Our first inquiry is, Why should this kind of preaching be aimed at? We reply,

1. Because such was the preaching of the Lord Jesus Christ. We have not yet fully understood or appreciated the amazing wisdom and power of the preaching of the Redeemer. But this is clear.—He wasted no effort. He exhausted no strength in mere idle speculation. He advanced no truth that was not adapted to make a deep and permanent impression on mankind. Mild and tender as he was in all his ministry, and much as his discourses were fitted to comfort the people of God, yet they are adapted to produce deep and mighty movements in the minds of men. In his own time, his preaching shook Judea to its centre; and deep agitations attended his movements, whether on the banks of Genesareth, or amid the thousands of the capital. Nor has there been a great religious movement among nations since, or a mighty agitation in a revival of religion, which has not been produced by the doctrines that fell from the lips of the meek Son of God. No man can better fit himself for the scenes of sublimity and grandeur in a revival of religion, than by the profound, prayerful, and incessant study of the character of Jesus Christ, as a preacher contemplating a vast and rapid movement among the proud, the rich, the haughty, the honoured, and the profligate. No words were wasted; no strength was put forth in vain; no doctrine not fitted to deep movement in the human spirit was advanced even by him who could have unlocked the eternal stores of wisdom and knowledge, and who could have held up the burning truths of eternity to the admiration and awe of mankind. He came not to tell us *all* about God; nor all that *we may know* in eternity that may be adapted to a state of purity and love; but he came to disclose a definite and well-adapted set of truths to effect a specific purpose—to convert fallen men to God. All that he said was fitted to this; and having conveyed this portion of light to the human soul, he who knew all things closed his lips in sacred silence, and the wondrous scenes of eternity were further shut out from the view of men.

2. Such was the preaching of the Apostles. They evinced, not only by their zeal in traversing all lands to make known the gospel, that this was *their* view of the ministry, that it was adapted to make a deep and permanent impression on mankind, but their recorded sentiments evince the same thing. In their writings we have doubtless the substance of what they delivered in their public discourses. And *in* those writings, great and sublime as are the truths which they present, there is nothing for mere speculation—nothing for the satisfaction of a vain curiosity—nothing that can be considered as the mere pomp and pageantry of brilliant, but useless truths. There is not a truth advanced by them which would not *bear* to be preached in the most agitating and heart-stirring scenes of a revival of religion; nothing which in the most critical periods of such revivals would not serve to advance the work. With how much propriety could this remark be made respecting no small part of the discussions that even now constitute our studies as a preparation for the ministry, and of the discourses that are delivered in the pulpit? How many tomes of learned and laborious theology may be found reposing in dignified grandeur on our shelves, in which there could be found only here and there, thoughts occurring at painfully distant intervals, that would be fitted to promote a revival of religion? And how much of existing preaching from Sabbath to Sabbath, is there that has no such end in view; and where there would be decided disappointment, if it *should happen* to be attended with the conversion of sinners!

3. In the brightest and purest days of the church, this kind of preaching has been that which has produced the most rapid and amazing changes among men. When Luther, and Calvin, and Knox, rose from the oppression of the Romish hierarchy, they pursued their labours with the *expectation* that their voice would be heard in all the vales and on all the mountains of the Old World. It *was* heard. It sounded in the glens of Swit-

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zerland; it was borne over the plains of France, and along the banks of the Rhine and the Danube; it shook the throne of England's king, and echoed along the highlands of Scotland, and moved in all Europe a heavy mass on which had been recumbent the shades of a long and chilly night, and roused no small part of the world to life, to energy, to regeneration. When Whitefield thundered, when Edwards reasoned, when the Tenants pleaded, no small portion of the people of America were roused to seek the path of life; and hymns of thanksgiving rose from thousands of tongues, taught to sing by the power of the gospel brought to bear *directly* on the consciences of men. In these bright and splendid illustrations of what the gospel is adapted to do; occurring, indeed, at long and melancholy intervals, we see the kind of preaching that will commend itself to men, under the intensest rays of the Sun of righteousness, and men, too, whom we should be the most apt to select as the best of all others, adapted to spend their lives in simply edifying the few Christians that might be found existing at any time, or in carrying the torch of truth farthest into surrounding regions. The case of Edwards will at once occur as a most striking exhibition of this just feeling about the proper object of preaching. Out of the pulpit, he seemed to be making only a most mighty effort to push the conquests of truth over vast territories of strongly-fortified error; to prostrate some mighty foe that stood in the way of the Son of God. Yet in the pulpit, the single aim was to press simple truths into the hearts of men, and bind them fast to the cross of the Saviour. Probably *all the sermons* of Edwards might be read without its occurring that his was a mind that would find appropriate employment in composing such a treatise as that on the will, or in speculations such as attended the controversy respecting original sin.

4. All other kinds of preaching than that which we are endeavouring to describe, are comparatively useless. And it

is lamentable to reflect that there is so much discourse in the pulpit that may be considered as a mere waste of learning and strength. In looking at any department of action in this world, we are often called on to lament that there is so much talent that is expended in purposes of no utility. At any single period of the world, there is talent enough to accomplish all the purposes of intellectual advancement and moral improvement that are needed. No small part of it, however, is in obscure life, and never called into action. The mighty resources of the soul slumber. No great crisis occurs to call them forth; and in the calm and regular course of events, mind lies obscure and unknown—like precious veins of ore, concealed beneath the surface from age to age, because no great convulsion has laid them open to view.

Yet, when mind is called forth, how often are we compelled to mourn that genius burns and blazes for naught. Its fires are kindled to glow for a little period, and then expire. They have shed a momentary glare on the earth—perhaps on some parts which were not *worth* the illumination—portions which are desolate and barren, and then all has been again dark. In more respects than one, the fires of genius are like the ignis fatuus of the night. *That* seeks fens, and morasses, and vales, which cannot be made fertile. So the fires of poetic genius, and the splendours of eloquence often shed a temporary glare on regions of barrenness, and the only effect of lighting them is just to tell us that *these* are regions of thought that *cannot* be made fruitful, and that will not reward the toil of culture. It would be a most melancholy task to attempt to collect together and arrange the truly valuable results of the most brilliant and splendid endowments that have been manifested in our world.

But chiefly is this *waste* of talent and learning to be lamented in the ministry. Other men may perhaps be allowed to lavish their endowments on objects of no value. Whether talent lies buried or unknown; or whether it burn, and blaze, and consume

itself in poetic fancies, or whether it be exhausted in profound and subtle inquiries among the schoolmen, is a distinction of little importance. But not so in relation to talent that is consecrated to the ministry. There is a purpose, and design, and something to be accomplished. And we cannot resist the inquiry which starts up in the mind,—Why should a preacher labour to prove a point which no one doubts? Why exhaust his strength in a speculation which no one can follow? Why attempt to press his way into regions of abstractions and non-entities; to engage in theological romance and knight-errantry, when dying men are before him? Why engage in the pulpit in speculations which should be settled, if settled at all, out of the pulpit? And why wander amid the fields of fancy, and attempt to create and explore new worlds, when all the realities of a world of sin, and all the fearfulness of an eternal hell, and all the glories of an infinite heaven are before him? *The minister of God has something to do.* His task is a definite one. It is to make the most of all his endowments of nature and of grace in the recovery of a fallen world.

5. The kind of preaching for which we are pleading, is that which alone is adapted to the state of feeling and the habits in this land, and in these times. Among the advances most remarkable in this age, one is, that active energy is turned to account. Mind is not suffered to slumber; and being roused, it strikes at some definite results. It is the characteristic of this age; and much evil as we may imagine we see in some of its features, and much as we might be disposed to stay the headlong propensities of these times, still this characteristic is stamped on these times, and it is ours to act on it. Our fellow-countrymen scarce stop to look at the process by which a result is to be reached, but they strike at once at the result itself. Be it a good or a bad end, this is the trait of the times; and religion, if spread at all, will be spread in this way. Unless the ministry engage in their work on the same principles,

the world will get ahead of them. Infidelity, and sin, and those plans of gain and traffic which trample down the Sabbath and the institutions of our fathers, will enclose us on every side; and, while we look on, the citadel of religion will be taken. The contemplative habits of other times will not answer for this age. The leaden and cumbrous rules which we may find in the tomes of the older theology, will not do. The profound, dry, technical, elaborate lucubrations of those books, will not fit the ministry of these times. We need a ministry of our own—a ministry formed with reference to this age, that is apprized of the habits of thought and action of these times; and that does not *appear* as if it had been transplanted from scenes and times two hundred years gone by. Without implying any reflection on those times, or maintaining that *ours* is a state of things more favourable for the promotion of sound religion, still it is maintained that the ministry should be apprized of the age in which it lives; and should endeavour to impress its great purposes on the characteristic features of that age.

This is to be the land of revivals. If the same spirit of revivals can be extended to other lands, let us bless God that it may be. If ministers from this land can witness like scenes on pagan shores, let us give him still higher praise. But, however it may be in the Old World, or however Christianity may be propagated in heathen lands, *here* is to be a nation where the church is to be established and reared amid the thrilling scenes of revivals of religion. It accords with the character of our people; the active, hardy, mighty enterprise of the nation. It is the manner in which all sentiments here spread, by deep, rapid, thorough excitement, and hasty revolution. A year may effect changes here for good or bad, which an age might not produce on the comparatively leaden population of the Old World. It accords with our history. It is the way, the grand, glorious, awful way in which God has appeared to establish his church in this land. There is scarce a village

or a town in this country that cannot recall in its history the deeply interesting events of a revival of religion. There is scarce a church that lifts its spire to heaven amid surrounding forests in our Western lands, that does not become filled with worshippers as the result of such a work of grace. Along the hill and the vale; in the deep and solemn grove, the voice of prayer and praise is heard; the spirit of God diffuses solemnity over the scattered population; and the village rises, consecrated as a hallowed spot by the intensely interesting scenes produced by the presence of the Spirit of God. Our land is thus a hallowed land. Our villages and towns are thus by God himself set apart to his own high and sacred purposes. One entire country becomes thus sacred in the sublime purpose of spreading the gospel around the globe. And every new village becomes an additional pledge that God designs our land to be instrumental in sending the gospel among all the nations of the earth.

Our other inquiry is,—By what *means* shall the ministry be rendered effectual? A general answer to this question would be,—By those, and those only, which are sanctioned or directly appointed in the New Testament. He who commissioned the preacher, knew what would be needed in the accomplishment of this great work, and appointed means adapted to all ages and times. The truth of God is as well fitted to produce effect here as at Jerusalem, at Ephesus, at Corinth, at Rome. The *means* at the disposal of the preacher are, therefore, substantially the same in every age. Their *application* may be varied by changing circumstances; and the study of the preacher is to acquaint himself with the great *original elements of power in the gospel adapted to all mankind; and then with the particular direction and use to be made of those elements by the circumstances of the times in which he lives.*

He is to study the elements of power in the gospel; or to study the gospel as fitted to make an impression on *man*. We say he should *study* the gospel as adapted to this. We know

that most men, and a very large majority of ministers, feel a particular repugnance to the business of *studying the gospel.* And to this fact that it is not profoundly *studied,* as adapted by its Author to make an impression on man, is owing the very slight success which attends its preaching. Few men professedly study the New Testament. Few *can* read or *desire* to read the Bible in the original. Few, probably, have sat down to the deliberate task of inquiring whether the gospel is *fitted* to any great purposes, and contains any elements of power. It is so much easier, and so much more respectful to pay deference to the fathers, as though wisdom died with them; it is so much easier to be engaged in the apparently more zealous business of going from house to house, and it has so much the appearance of self-indulgence and literary ease, to be found in an attitude of laborious thought and investigation, that the consequence is, that, in perhaps a majority of cases in this land, a very hasty preparation for the pulpit is about all the studying that is performed by the ministry. And just in proportion as the profound *study of the Bible* is neglected, whatever else may be done, is the efficiency and success of the ministry lessened. Truth, adapted to human nature, lies buried deep in the rich ores of revelation. To be ours to any practicable purpose, it must be dug out *with our own hands,* and separated, while we sit, as a refiner of silver, and patiently look at it, and toil that it may be adapted to our design. It is natural, indeed, in an age of action, to feel that such time is wasted. And it will not be unnatural to expect to be reproached as idle. But have we ever reflected, that, if we wish to accomplish *any thing,* to strike an efficient blow, it will be by profound thought and plan? The man who wishes to accomplish a great purpose in diplomacy, makes human nature and political principles the study of years. A single successful negotiation may be all that we see, and we wonder at the success. Half the world will ascribe it to chance; —the secret, profound study of years is unseen. The physician

who reaches the seat of disease, almost as if guided by the unerring hand of God, down to the dark hidden springs of life, reveals, perhaps, by that single touch, and in a moment, the result of the profound study of years. All that we saw was there; and one moment has revealed the mighty power of years of patient thought. Perhaps half his fellows were disposed to deride him as a poor plodder, while many of his co-equals, by apparently a more devoted life, sought to step at once to the honours of the profession;—and killed as many as they cured. The warrior stakes on the issue of one day his country's liberty. *We* see only the result. We admire the skilful evolution; the profound plan; the calm spirit of the leader; his confidence of success, and his splendid victory. Yet that day, that hour, is the result of the profound investigation of years. And shall we believe that the gospel, designed to revolutionize the world, is less worthy the profound *study* of the ministry than the healing art, or the rules of war? Not unless it is a system *not adapted* to its ends, and a scheme regulated by chance, or under the direction of caprice.

Is not this feeling lingering in the bosoms of many ministers of religion, that the gospel is not itself *adapted* to secure the conversion of sinners? That it is a set of arbitrary and unmeaning statutes, having no reference to any laws of human action, but designed to evince its own weakness, and to play harmlessly around the spirits of man till some other agent, with which it has no necessary connection, shall come in and remove the useless and ill-adapted parade of truths, and accomplish the work by a new and independent power? Like some splendid and mighty engine, apparently adapted to great efficiency, that should play harmlessly over a besieged city,—that should exhaust itself in its brilliant and dazzling revolutions, till, not a wall battered down or a breach made, the besieged should join to admire the imposing but useless display, or laugh at the pompous and unmeaning parade; and, when its uselessness

was discovered, should be coolly put aside by some other agent, and the city should fall by this new and independent power? And do not many now preach as if this gospel was not adapted to produce these changes, and as if they were dependent on some agency that worked without rule; that acted by caprice; and that had appointed the gospel to see how splendid and gorgeous a pageant might be got up to show its own inutility, and its own unfitness for any valuable end? With this feeling, how can a man preach, expecting that sinners will be converted? And why did Infinite Wisdom originate such a splendid and shadowy pageant?—So did not Paul. Assuredly he preached, believing that the gospel was the "power of God, and the wisdom of God unto salvation, to every one that believeth."

We speak these words, deeply penetrated, as well from our own brief experience in the ministry, as from the plain truths of the Bible, with the great truth that no preaching will be practical and effectual without the aid of the Holy Spirit. There is no truth which so pervades and saturates a man's soul in the deeply-affecting, incipient scenes, and awful impressiveness of a revival of religion, as that all help must come from God. Then a man must lay aside all that is mere poetry and romance in his preaching, and address himself to the serious business of converting men, and then will he feel, what no mere theory can teach him, that *all* help is from God. But will this sense of dependence, then most deeply felt, weaken his efforts, or teach him to relax his toil? When is the time in which men are most pungent, faithful, and full in their labours? In the midst of those scenes; and then does the soul take most firm hold of this mighty task of urging sinners to flee from the wrath that is to come. If the agency of the Holy Ghost was arbitrary; if his coming was merely to convince men that all labours were idle and useless; then we admit that a sense of dependence would paralyze all efforts. But this is not the place which the doctrine of the Spirit's influence is made

to occupy in such scenes. His mighty power is put forth, we admit, at the end of human effort, and to give efficacy to it; but then it is not to hold up the preacher and his message to scorn and derision; it is not to counteract and oppose the tendency of his ministrations; it is not to suffuse the cheek with shame and tears at the ill-adaptedness of his toils. It is to fill the heart with joy, and the eyes with tears of love and gratitude, that the God of grace has blessed the efforts, and borne the truth as it is to the sinner's soul. The Spirit comes to pour a pure flood of redeeming light on the soul, not to extinguish it and then create a new power. He comes to open the way to the heart for the truth, not to arrest its impinging on the soul; he comes to encompass and pervade it with vital energy, that it may accomplish an effect which this mighty gospel is fitted to produce.

The gospel is adapted to this end. That gospel which we preach is the most mighty moral power that has been applied in this world; and is the adaptation of means to a definite end, more certainly indicative of unerring wisdom than can be found in any of the other arrangements of God. In what that adaptation consists, it is not needful, perhaps not proper, for us in this place to attempt to say. It constitutes the laborious teaching of this place, and the laborious study of your fathers and brethren who are now in the field.

In a few words, however, you will permit us to express our view of the design of the gospel. Mind, as it commences its existence here, may be contemplated in two aspects. First, *as mind*, capable of expanding and rising forever. It enters on an existence in a universe fitted to eternal development. These starry heavens and majestic worlds, in whose contemplation we are soon lost, are fitted to the investigations of mind adapted to immensity and eternity. What the mind which we attempt to influence may be, and may be speedily, is one of those subjects on which we are soon lost. He that could compare the mind of

Newton when an infant with the same intellect at the age of thirty, then destined to be regarded as "by common consent at the head of the race," can have a faint view of what the mind of man may be. If in eternity the mind is to experience any parallel development, who can fancy what these intellects may be in the future ages of that distant world? Yet on this mind, to mould it, to transform it, to train it, to adapt it to those future developments, the ministry is call to act.

But mind is to be contemplated in a second aspect. Man is a sinner. This mind is fallen; and is as capable of terrific and awful developments in hell, as it is of glorious changes in heaven. And if, in the world of wo, mind undergoes any terrible developments, like the change observable from the infant to the character of Nero, a Richard III., or Cæsar Borgia, or Tiberius, who will not tremble when he enters the desk, and reflects that he holds in his hand and breathes from his lips the mighty power which is to check, to awe, to restrain, and to purify these spirits, and adapt them to the society of the heavens?

That man is in ruins it is not my business now to prove. Christianity assumes and declares the truth of this fact, but did not create it, and is in no sense to be held responsible for it, any more than the science of medicine is for the existence of disease. The fact is assumed in Christianity, and described as it is in other records pertaining to man, as a known and dreadful evil which needs a remedy. Man totally propense to sin, with raging passions, lusts, and desires; averse to the restraints of law; unmindful of his character and destiny, we come to restrain, to change, to save. The design of redemption is to take mind as it is, and to *make the most of a moral agent in ruin;* to call forth all his great powers into proper action, and subdue and annihilate the propensities to evil. To do this, God has revealed the gospel—a scheme which, in the tenderness of its scenes connected with the work of Christ, the

sublimity of its hopes, the power of its truth, the immortality of its prospects, is fitted to call forth all that is tender, elevated, immortal in the mind of man; and which, in the sanctions of its law, and its appeals to the conscience, is designed to restrain and subdue all the evil propensities of the human heart. It has already bowed the most mighty intellects, and showed its power to control mind when imbedded in a frigid system of philosophy; mind, when raging and burning with ungovernable lusts; mind, that sought for immortality on fields of blood and crime; mind, amid the luxuries of courts, and the refinements of civilized life; mind, when found in the hut of the Hottentot, and in the degraded pollutions of the islander. This power we go forth to wield; and we live near the time when its mighty energies are to take hold on all human wickedness, and usher in the glories of the millennial morn.

It remains, then, to inquire in few words what peculiar powers are furnished by these times to the practical preacher to apply the gospel to the hearts of men. Or what position does the gospel now occupy in relation to the business of converting sinners to Jesus Christ? We shall attempt to answer by stating a few particulars.

1. The business of preaching is better understood now than at any former period. What we mean is this: that all the advances which have been made in theological science have consisted in just this, to see more of the adaptedness of the gospel to man as a moral agent; and this has been gained by studying the Bible, and by the practical work of the ministry. He is the best theologian, not who has the most learned lore in his head, or on his shelves, but who is the best apprized of the proper means of conducting a revival of religion. And that is the man, not he who pronounces from a dignified seat of retirement, on the proper evolutions and position in the field, who coolly arranges the business in the retirement of a learned cloister, but who has himself been down into the field of con-

flict, who has stood amid the din of battle, and whose heart has been fired, not with the love of complaint, but of victory; and who, under the inexpressible pressure on his spirit in a revival of religion, has been urged to the Bible, to know what is to be done to save trembling sinners. In this land, and in these times, men may enter the ministry under incomparably greater advantages for understanding the power of the gospel, than have been known at any former age of the world. To enter on the work of revivals in the time of Luther and Calvin, with the dim light that began to gleam on their path, and amid the thick shades of papal darkness around their footsteps, with the shackles of the scholastic theology and the trammels of the schools, was a gigantic effort. Common minds were not competent to it; and none but those mighty spirits could do it. To engage in this work, at periods not very remote in this land, when theology retained much of the technicalities of the schools; when it depended on its terrific armour; its measured, stately movements; its dark and terrible frownings, when men learned that they were doomed to wo for another's sin; were told to love a Saviour who died but for a few; that they were cramped, and manacled, and unable to do what was commanded to be done, was a task that chilled the energies and palsied the tongue in the addresses to men. Much as there may be to lament now, yet there is this in which to rejoice, that the ministry may turn its talents to immediate practical account. And to meet and avail ourselves of this state of things, there is this to be said, that our theological seminaries are designed to teach the theory and practice of revivals of religion; to tell the sons of the church in what way the gospel may be so preached as to convert men to God; and dismal will be that day, if it ever comes, when they shall be places of ecclesiastical repose—temples from which we shall hear only solemn voices of warning against the mischiefs of revivals, and the dangers of converting men to God. For other purposes than this are those temples

reared. And the church contemplates that her young men, when they come forth, shall come apprized of the fact that there is glory, and not shame, in the thrilling scenes of revivals, and that the ministry is designed simply to convert the world unto God.

2. We need not insist further on the *active* powers of this age, and of its facilities for doing the work of the ministry. Men may see much evil in this intense action, and there may be danger that it may trample down all good institutions. But the way to prevail over this evil is not to sit down and weep. It is to attempt the great work belonging to the men of this age, to turn this immense activity into a good channel. To do this needs not men of a dull, lethargic temperament, but men who are disposed to toil, and who feel that the age requires a voice of strength and a mighty arm to be lifted up to stay its propensities to evil, and bring it back to God. When all the evil tendencies of this nation are excited to action, it demands that the energies of goodness should be put forth to recall men to virtue and to heaven. Let one maxim be remembered and be the guide of our lives; *the facilities for doing good in this world are far more than for doing evil.* If a man wishes to make the most of his powers for any purpose, he would seek some plan of goodness. We know that here and there a master spirit may rise, or may *be raised up,* by some remarkable circumstances, whose evil influence shall seem to settle over nations and ages. Thus Alexander and Cæsar rose. Thus Napoleon was the creature of a revolution, to "ride on its whirlwind and to direct its storm." And these deeds of disastrous lustre stand out in history, and fill all the field of vision; and we seem to think that the facilities for doing evil are more than those for benevolence. But it is not so. The deed amazes, strikes, awes. It is amid the storms of war, and the tempests of revolution. It comes with the pomp of strife, and the clangour of arms, and the pageantry of victory. But

deeds of goodness are silent, obscure, or perhaps unnoticed. They flow like the sweetly meandering stream; deeds of evil pour down like the impetuous torrent. The one resembles the dew; the other the tempest. The influence of the one is prolonged from age to age; the other suddenly ceases its influence, and is remembered but in name. To continue the illustration. The stream that rolls through the vale shall diffuse its blessings from generation to generation; the torrent that swept over the hills, and spread desolation, passed by, and the evils were soon repaired, and verdure and beauty soon removed all traces of the path of desolation. What evil influence is *now* felt by the mad ambition of Alexander and Cæsar? Even the monuments of their victories and crimes are gone, and the *name* is all that we have. Nay, what evil influence is now exerted on mankind by the career of Napoleon? In a single generation, the towering institutions reared by ambition have fallen; the fields drenched with blood have become fertile; the nations which he enslaved are as free as they were before; and the *name* is all. But how different the scene if those mighty energies had been directed in a channel of goodness! Washington has sent down his name, intertwined and embalmed in our institutions, to the latest times. The influence of Paul and John has been continued from age to age, while the last memorial of Nero and Tiberius has faded away. Henry Martyn and Brainard have sent an influence around the world infinitely more mighty than that of Alexander; and Howard's name shall accomplish infinitely more good, than the name of Napoleon will evil. The design of these remarks is to come to this conclusion, that in God's world, fallen as it is, the power of doing permanent *good* is infinitely greater than that of doing permanent *evil;* and with this advantage over the sons of darkness, we enter on the work of the ministry.

3. The third observation which we make, relates to the accumulated power of which the preacher may now avail himself

to press the gospel on men. His power is not in the pulpit *only*. His province extends to every thing that can be the means of introducing the gospel to the souls of men. Were there time, this remark would be illustrated with reference to the simple but mighty power of goodness itself, or of holy, humble piety in a minister—a power that will accomplish far more in this business than the most profound learning. If a man wished to give the utmost possible expansion to his faculties and his influence, as a mere experiment to see what *could be done*, it would be by giving to them that freedom and proportion of action which the entire influence of Christianity would produce. True piety is not monastic, tame, lethargic. It is the spring of action. Paul, and Peter, and Edwards, and Brainard, and Martyn, *and* CHRIST *most of all*—have evinced its mighty power.

One feature of the piety of these times—attended with some peril to its depth and purity—is that it comes forth and exerts an influence. It is not the characteristic of this age, certainly, that its religion burns under a bushel, or to illuminate with sombre and saddening hue the gloomy walls of the cloister.

With reference to the accumulation of power at the disposal of the ministry, we should speak of the Sunday-school—an invention that is yet to accomplish just about as much in religion as the steam-power is in manufactures and navigation. And the minister who should enter on his work not designing to make use of this power, or unwilling to stoop to even the humble *details* of the Sabbath-school, would be about as wise as the navigator so in love with the magnificence of sails and lofty masts, as to deem the movements of the steam-engine beneath his notice. Connected with this there should be another remark made. The whole tendency of things is to bring the ministry down from a most ill-judged elevation, and to make preachers think and act like other men. We have laid aside the wig, the band, the gown—and a little of the

pride and pomp of the clerical station. We have begun the process of bringing down the high pulpits which our fathers reared all over the land, and of coming down nearer to the people. We have laid aside much of the technicalities of our profession, and the unmeaning jargon of the schools, and have begun to learn that the people are not scholastic philosophers. *Their* philosophy is right—always right, for they have no *theory* to cramp them, and philosophy with them is *nature* in thinking and speaking. And if we wish to do them good, we must *study* philosophy in common life, and understand the ways of thought in common life, and become, characteristically as preachers, men of common sense. The ministry is securing an access to the *hearts* of the people. There is no land where it has such a *real* influence as in this; and no place where that influence is so pure and elevated as in a revival of religion.

But chiefly is this accumulation of *power* to be contemplated in reference to the press. Why should not the ministry avail itself of *this* power, to an extent at least one hundred times as great as has hitherto been done? The truth is, that, to a very great extent, the learning in this land is, and will be, among the clergy. It is *not* with the actual book-makers and conductors of the press. It is with those who have been trained in our colleges and seminaries, mainly at the expense of the church; and the church has a right to expect a very explicit answer to the question why these cultivated talents shall not exert their full influence in wielding this mighty power,—not for purposes of fame or money-making, but to do good. Without infringing on any of the duties of his office, a minister may, by means of the press, greatly enlarge the sphere of his influence. Who was a more faithful and successful preacher than Edwards? But when shall Edwards's influence die? When the great globe itself, with all which it contains, shall dissolve. Where shall be its limit? With the farthest

continent and island, the ultima Thule of Christian enterprise and benevolence? No, not then or there. In that world where the ransomed spirit dwells amid the blaze of eternal truth, shall it feel forever the power of that wonderful man. We speak not this to excite ambition, but to do good. The thoughts of your mind and the purposes of your heart may strike on thousands of other minds at once; a purpose conceived in the obscurity of a parish ministry, may expand, like the thoughts of Mills, until it shall pour a flood of light over nations. We know it may be said there are books enough already, and no small measure of contempt is cast on this book-making age. With men who write for reputation, such remarks are very well. But you will remember that the people within your circle may read what *you* write, while even far abler writers may repose in learned and cumbrous dignity on the shelf. We know it may be said that this propensity will not increase our reputation abroad. Even this may be so, and if *reputation* were what we sought, it might be well said. But our object is to secure the triumphs of the gospel, and that is the best reputation which secures that end. And we know that young men often feel that they will do a thing which is unworthy their reputation and their character. And all this is said when they *have* no reputation, and no public character; when every thing remains yet to be acquired; and when it is as easy to *mar* such a spotless fame by indolence and inactivity as by any measures however wild or Quixotic. Who ever accomplished any thing in this world that did not suffer his reputation to take care of itself, and engage heart and soul in some grand enterprise where his own little self might be lost?

4. But one other remark remains to be made to encourage the ministry in its effort to accomplish the great and magnificent purpose of applying the gospel to the souls of men, and of living for the millennium. It relates to the position which

Christianity occupies in the world. We know there is much infidelity; much boisterous, clamorous proclamation of the wisdom of unbelief; and much action among the enemies of God. But when we go to preach this gospel, is it to be newly tried in its power? Is infidelity to meet it in its strength, prepared to measure weapons with it, and to attack it with hopes of victory, or flushed with success? Never again. The battle has been fought and refought; the question has been tested again and again by all the arts of ridicule, and power, and cunning, and skill, and learning. The field is gained on this subject. At one time, Christianity was attacked by ridicule, and survived. Again with fire and sword, and yet it lived. Now the might of empire attempted to crush it, but it did not die. Now the argument of Celsus and Porphyry attempted to overthrow it; and now wit and imperial power, united in the person of Julian, attempted to destroy it, but it still lived. Now infidels dig deep into the earth to make the rocks speak against the truth of revelation, and to show that "He who made the world and declared its date to Moses, was mistaken in its age;" and others, with labours as intense, attempt to penetrate the shades of ancient night, and reveal the names of dynasties in India or China, long before the world, according to the Bible, began. And now infidels seat themselves on the ancient volcano, and interrogate its layers; or they walk amid the crumbling monuments of Egypt to convict the Bible of folly or falsehood. All this career is run. These battles are fought. These strongholds are abandoned; and you, my young brethren, go forth to the ministry to preach a gospel tortured two thousand years; subjected to the piercing gaze of the most learned and subtle of men; driven often almost apparently on to the rocks and shoals of shipwreck, and with the voice of the fiend heard amid the tempests, and triumphing over its anticipated disaster;—but now, having rode out these storms, on the unruffled bosom of the deep, with a calm

sky and full sail, going to bear light and salvation to the wide world. There is no form of sin which can stand before this gospel; no power of persecution or of arms that can oppose it; no science or art, however much it may seem to contradict it, that does not soon mingle with it, like light from the same source into one. And, as you enter on your work, science, and art, and Christianity blend their influence, and pour an intense radiance on the earth, and the kingdoms of nature and of grace unite in hastening the universal redemption of mankind.

XVI.

*The Literature and Science of our Country.**

Brethren of the Alumni Association:—

The circumstances under which we meet this day are such as deeply to affect the heart. We have come back from the agitating scenes and toils of life to our beloved Alma Mater, not again to take shelter under her wings, but to mingle our feelings and our congratulations, and to express our earnest desire for her continued prosperity. On an occasion like this, we cannot but recall the views and feelings which we cherished when members of this college, and our youthful hopes, anticipations, and plans. We cannot but ask ourselves, Have those hopes been realized? Has the world been to us as we expected it would be? Have the plans which we then cherished been successful? Or has disappointment met us on our way, and have the heavens, then so serene and pure to our view, been overcast, and charged with tempests that have beat along our goings?

We come back this day after having travelled partly over the journey of life. We have gone, perhaps, even more than half our way. We have parted forever with many who began the journey with us. While we mingle our congratulations, they sleep in the cold tomb. They were as buoyant with hope, and had formed as high anticipations, as we had ourselves. But the hand that directs all our destiny has arrested

* An address delivered before the Association of the Alumni of Hamilton College, July 27, 1836.

them in the midst of their way, and summoned them to the realities of another scene. We, in the mean time, spared by the tender mercy of our heavenly Benefactor, are permitted to assemble here this day, and to separate ourselves for a season from the toils, the cares, and the agitations of the world. We have been tossed, it may be, on the troubled sea of public life. We have mingled in the scenes on which we once looked out in anticipation from the walls of this institution. We have tried that world whose perils and temptations were so often portrayed to us, and we are now ourselves qualified, in some degree, to tell those who follow us of the dangers of the way, and the nature of those scenes in which they must soon be engaged.

First in our feelings on coming back this day from the cares of life, of office, and of our professional callings, will be our joy at the brightening prospects of this institution, and the lifting up a fervent prayer to the God of heaven that the venerable man at whose feet most of us have been permitted to sit, may enjoy the blessings of Heaven to render tranquil and serene the evening of his days; and that the divine guidance may attend him who now presides over its interests, and his fellow-labourers. Next, we naturally cast our eyes abroad upon that country which we love, and to whose interests, in our various professions, we have devoted our lives. We have looked upon that country. Some of us have been in the callings of public life endeavouring to advance its interests. All of us feel a deep solicitude for its welfare. And the question presses itself at once upon our attention, What are its prospects? What is to be its destiny? How are the great interests of learning, liberty, religion, and law, likely to fare in this nation? What is to be its moral character? What its religious and political aspect? What institutions does it need, and how are they to be sustained? What are the dangers which threaten its liberty and its happiness, and how are those

dangers to be avoided? Selecting from these, and from a multitude of similar questions which might be proposed, the one that we deem most appropriate to the occasion, we propose to ask your attention to some remarks on THE LITERATURE AND SCIENCE OF OUR COUNTRY.

We may commence our observations by observing that the progress of science and of truth has everywhere been slow. Nothing in the past would be more interesting than the history of the sciences and arts, and the effects of the various discoveries in the one, and the inventions in the other, on the advancement of society and on the happiness of men. It would be interesting not merely as it would record the development of mind, but because each new-discovered truth in science, and each new improvement in the arts, at once work their way with prodigious power into the very framework of society, and produce rapid and permanent changes on the habits, the opinions, and the laws of a people. It is too late now to recover such a history. The knowledge which would be requisite is buried in the darkness of past times, and has gone forever from the records of the world. The establishment of all truth has cost much. Error gets the advance of it in the human mind, and fastens there with gigantic power. It interests the passions; it incorporates itself with the plans and feelings; it works its way into laws; it pervades the customs of a people. The task of establishing truth in our world in morals, in science, in religion, has not been the easy task of writing down the lessons of wisdom on a *tabula rasa*, but the work first of removing error, of encountering prejudice, of remodelling established customs and laws. It is not, so to speak, the work of setting stars in the clearness and brightness of an Italian sky, but it is the work of fixing those stars when the sky is overcast with clouds, and when the tempest rolls and the lightnings flash through the heavens. Those tempests

must be scattered, and the sky made serene, before truth will pour its steady radiance on mankind. Men are wrong before they are right. Society is rude, rough, barbarous, before it is enlightened, civilized, refined. There has been no golden age of knowledge and virtue in this world but in the visions of poetry; there has been no peaceful and innocent Arcadia, except in the day-dreams of romance. In these walls we traversed all those retreats of innocence, for they existed only in the books which we read. Man begins his way in error, and slowly advances to the truth. Society begins its way in ignorance, and slowly rises to intelligence and to rational freedom. It has happened, therefore, that every truth that now sheds its lustre on mankind, has encountered long opposition, and been established by the slow work of ages, until, either single or in combination, like a star alone or mingling its rays in the constellation, it has become fixed in the heavens of science. Every truth in geography, in astronomy, in chemistry, in religion, in political science, has met with opposition, and perhaps has cost the life of many a martyr. Foreign lands have been visited; desert regions have been traversed; sleepless nights have been passed; opposition has been encountered, until, perhaps, the single truth that was to give immortality to the man and the age, has shone forth with established lustre. Galileo spent his life to perfect the telescope, and was rewarded in a prison; Harvey in defending the doctrine of the circulation of the blood; Jenner in defence of the theory of vaccination; and Columbus in showing that a new world might be reached in the West.

It has been said that we have no literature or science; and foreigners have reproached us for our destitution. They have spoken of us as having produced no works of art that will live, and as having made no important discoveries in science, and as having no established literature. It is not my purpose to attempt a vindication of our country; still less to notice the

terms in which these accusations have been brought. It might be sufficient to reply to all that foreigners have said of us, that we are an infant people, and that no nation before us has had a task to perform so arduous as we have, or has done it so well. We had a vast, an almost illimitable, territory to occupy, to subdue, to cultivate. Almost interminable forests stretched their shadows over the land, and those forests were to be felled. A most fertile soil, on which the rays of the sun had never shone through the deep and dense wilderness, was to be brought under the dominion of the plough. Towns were to be built, and cities reared, and a fleet to be constructed whose sails should whiten every ocean. The war of independence was to be fought with the most potent nation of the Old World. Vast rivers, stretching into dense forests, were to be rendered navigable and ascended, and the means invented for braving their currents and reaching their sources. Mountains were to be levelled, and valleys to be exalted, and distant parts of the nation to be connected by facilities for rapid intercommunication. A government was to be formed that should be adapted to a population ultimately of hundreds of millions. This has been done: and we may say, without arrogance, that it has been well done. We may inquire of all past generations when such a work has been before accomplished in a space of time so brief as in our own history.

But there are other remarks to be made on this subject. The complaints that have been made of our want of literature and science have, in a great majority of cases, been made by those who have come among us from our own father-land. We may be permitted to say that there is something peculiarly unreflecting and unkind on the part of our British brethren. Can it have been forgotten by them that we have a common literature and science? Till within sixty years we were an integral part of their empire, and subject to the same crown. Their laws were our laws; their language our language; their

ancestors our ancestors. We have a common stock with them in the exhaustless stores of British learning. Their Spensers, and Chaucers, and Miltons, and Shakspeares, and Lockes, and Bacons, and Boyles, were ours. They spoke our language. Our fathers lived in the land where they lived; their bones are buried there; and if our British brethren boast of *their* ancestry, why may not we glory in the same ancestry as our own? When our countrymen tread the solemn aisles of Westminster Abbey, and look upon the monuments of the illustrious dead; when they walk where princes, and poets, and orators, and philosophers repose, who shall forbid them to reflect that they have a part in what those illustrious men have done for liberty, for science, for literature, and for religion? When we look upon the marble that records the place where Milton, and Locke, and Newton sleep, shall we be prohibited from remembering that we speak their language; that their blood flows in our veins; that they repose in our father-land; and that the sentiments which they loved, and which they expressed, are receiving permanency and the widest influence in our own Western World? When we visit Olney, or when we tread the banks of the Avon, who shall prohibit us from remembering that we have part in the sweet strains of nature's loveliest poet—Cowper; and part also in the fame that encompasses the name of Shakspeare?

We begin our literary career with a better stock than any other people. The English language which we speak, imbosoms, it is believed, more profound learning, more sublime poetry, more masterly argumentation, more lofty eloquence, certainly more profound science, than any other single language of the world. This is said with no disparagement of the vast stores that may be found in the Greek and Roman tongues. It is said that we may do justice to ourselves and our advantages; and that, in our veneration for antiquity, we may not undervalue the rich stores that in our own native

tongue are accessible to the mind of the most humble American citizen.

To see what is the proper estimate which we ourselves, and which foreigners should place upon us, we should be compared with what other infant people have been at the same period of independent existence as ourselves. What was the literature of Egypt sixty years after its foundation was laid as a kingdom? What was the astronomical science of Chaldea compared with that of Rittenhouse? What its philosophy compared with that of Franklin? What was the learning of Greece, what her poetry, what her arts, sixty years after she began her independent existence, compared with that America now possesses? What were the political views of Solon, of Lycurgus, of Draco, what the plans of Romulus, of Numa, of Brutus, compared with those of Hancock, of Washington, of Hamilton, of Madison? What men, during two hundred years of their existence, summoned their countrymen to virtuous freedom in eloquence as spirit-stirring as that which fell from the lips of Patrick Henry? Who among them dispensed public justice, and laid broad and deep the foundations of constitutional law, like John Marshall? Be it not ours to boast. But it may be ours to repel the unkindness of those with whom we wish to be united as brethren; and it may and should be ours to render hearty thanks to the God of our fathers that he has thus blessed this infant country in its commencement, and permitted us to *start* on our career of science, and literature, and political wisdom, where the proudest nations of ancient time have regarded it as sufficient glory to *pause*.

It is no discredit to us to admit, that our literature and science may fall short, in many respects, of the attainments in the Old World. No American need be reluctant to confess, that in philology and criticism we may be behind the German; in chemistry and medicine, we may be inferior to France; in classical learning and the exact sciences, inferior to England

or Scotland. We have not their libraries, their apparatus, or their leisure. We cannot, like them, collate ancient manuscripts; we cannot restore to a corrupted classic writer, like them, a correct text; we have not the apparatus which Davy used, nor the telescope with which Newton or Herschell gazed upon the heavens. It would be the height of national absurdity and vanity to deny that the Old World possesses libraries, and philosophical apparatus, and manuscripts, to which we can lay no claim. And it would be the height of folly to suppose that, in these departments of literature and criticism, our colleges could be able to rival Halle, or Göttingen, or Edinburgh, or Oxford; or that our scholars would soon possess the accurate and profound erudition of Scaliger, or Porson, or Parr, or the critical skill of Kennicott or De Rossi, or the knowledge of Oriental learning of Gesenius or Sir William Jones.

But let us not be deceived in regard to that which is truly valuable; nor let us despise or underrate our own advantages. Valuable as are these high attainments, and desirable as it would be could we reach them, yet there *is* a literature of wider value and more diffusive in the benefits which it shall confer on men, and to this we may and must rise. There is a literature which may be spread with some measure of equality over the intellect of a nation, and which may diffuse its blessings on the common mind, which may be of more real value than that which gives immortality to a few splendid names in the schools. That literature and science pre-eminently may be ours. Besides, in all those departments of literature and science where immortality has been gained in past ages, not from the advantages of manuscripts, and of libraries, and of apparatus, but from profound thinking, from the productions of the imagination, from the abstract sciences, and from the useful arts, a wider field is before us than has ever been before

presented to the mind of man; and in that field our gifted sons are invited to revel. We have all the advantages, assuredly, which nature has furnished anywhere for the discoveries of science. The same heavens are over our heads at night on which Galileo and Herschell gazed; the same intellect is here to be investigated which Des Cartes, and Locke, and Stewart, and Brown, profoundly studied; the air and the water can be subjected to analysis here with the same facility as by Davy; and the same works of nature—the beautiful specimens of botany, and of physiology—may be found here, which have given immortality to Linnæus or Cuvier. Nay, nature has here exhibited herself in some respects on a broader scale, and in a more magnificent manner than in the Old World. There is a freshness and vastness in her works here which is fitted to expand the mind, and elevate the soul, and fill it with grand conceptions, and to invite to successful investigation. It seems almost as if God, in favour of science and to the enlargement of the human mind, had reserved the knowledge of the Western World, until the last felicitous investigations that could be made had been made in the Old World. It seems almost as if, then, to give a new and a rapid expansion to the powers of thought, he had spread out this *New World*—new in all respects, new in the magnificence of mountain scenery, in the majesty of rolling internal seas and rivers, instinct with new forms of animal life, with hitherto unknown races of animals bounding through vast forests, with richer mineral treasures, and with a new race of men—human nature developed in a new form in the wandering savage, with peculiar habits, customs, and laws, and presenting man and society in a form unseen before. Had the place been sought to give the most sudden and the largest expansion to the mind of man, what place could have been conceived better than to preserve, until science had done its utmost in the Old World, the people, the animals, the plants, the fossil remains, the

geology, of America, to be investigated in the last periods of the earth's history?

Nor need we confess inferiority in those fields of literature and science which have conferred in other times immortality on genius and talent. Those fields may not yet be occupied, but they are to be occupied by our sons, and they are spread out for healthy rivalship and competition. A prize is before our sons richer than all the prizes of Isthmian or Nemean games; more beautiful than all the chaplets which ever adorned the brows of a Grecian historian, orator, or poet—a prize reserved for him who shall successfully avail himself of our advantages, and write our histories, and record the deeds of our fathers in prose or verse, or defend our liberties in the Capitol. Our *history* remains yet to be recorded in a manner that shall be worthy of the theme. It is a history far better fitted to give immortality to the men who shall write it than those which have transmitted to us the names of Herodotus, Thucydides, Livy, or Tacitus. It is more rich in incident, more fruitful in results, presenting more scenes of profound wisdom and dangers, more magnanimity and patriotism, by far, than the early days of Egypt, of Babylonia, of Greece, and of Rome. We have many more important battles to record than those of Platea and of Marathon; many men who have evinced as high a love of country as was shown at Thermopylæ; many of higher patriotism than Pericles or Scipio. The men whose lives are recorded by Plutarch are not to be compared with those who were concerned in the Revolution; and the biography of the signers of American Independence remains yet to be written in a manner worthy of the theme. The illustrious deeds of our fathers remain yet also to be sung. Nobler themes for the muse have not been presented in this world than in our past history. Around our own hills have been witnessed real events far more illustrious than the fabled doings on Mount Ida, Olympus, or Parnassus; and along our

streams have been scenes far more thrilling than those along the Meander or the Ilissus. In the high department of eloquence, we need not say that in all that is manly, and pure, and elevated, our country opens a prospect unsurpassed in any ancient history. In the times that tried men's souls in the period of the Revolution, and in the establishment and defence of the Constitution, powers of oratory have been displayed that succeeding times will compare with the highest efforts of Demosthenes or Cicero; and it needs not prophetic sagacity to foresee that in the defence of liberty in this country, and in defence of sacred rights, there will yet be nobler fields for lofty eloquence than were presented when Philip of Macedon threatened the liberty of Greece, or Cæsar that of Rome. We might apply these remarks to the drama and the arts of design. But we will not dwell on this. We will only observe, that there are some *sciences* which our very institutions demand should be pushed to the farthest limit of discovery; and to which the whole course of events here is tending. The science of *morals* here will be better understood than it has been hitherto in the world. Every thing here depends on that, and the habits of the people incline them to investigation. The science of government, and of political economy, must and will be understood. It enters into every thing here, and every man has an interest in it; and every aspirant for office, and for the honours of his country, should expect to succeed just in proportion as he has become master of it. The science of *geology* is destined here, probably, to be placed on a permanent basis, and to receive its full development. Here, more than anywhere else, there are inducements to pursue such a course as will diffuse a just knowledge of the structure of the earth. We cut down hills to construct canals and railroads; we penetrate the earth for fuel; we dig into its bowels for gold; and the same spirit of enterprise which will lead one class of our men to wander to the distant West, and ascend

the streams and climb the mountains for game, will lead another to penetrate the solid granite, to go down into the chilly cavern, to torture and investigate the solid rock in pursuit of gold.—And the most profound of all sciences, the science of theology, will probably be better understood here than among any other people. Mind is free here to investigate it, and it will be investigated. The whole subject is to be examined and re-examined. What can be defended, is to be retained. What has come to us from the schools, and not from the Bible, is to be abandoned. Whatever improvement can be given to its form and power, is to be rendered; and the grand experiment is to be made here, to see whether it can be purified from all that is mere tradition; whether its principles can be applied to the new forms of society and of thought in this New World; and whether it can be made to stand forth in its native brightness before the mind of man. —Nor are the sciences of astronomy and botany, as they are presented by the Creator in the heavens, and in the flowers of the valley, susceptible of advancement. But the ancient system of astronomical science may be corrected, and the errors which have clouded the human vision may be swept away, and man may, to some extent, be left to *see* the system as it exists in reality. So the truths of the Bible stood forth when first given to men, not to be amended or improved. But there have been erroneous views of these truths. They may have been misunderstood, or attached to false systems of philosophy, and these are to be exploded. The science of mind may be better understood, and that system is to be applied to that science. Besides, the works of God are better understood, and there is a great department of theological knowledge which is to occupy the attention of men to the end of time—the analogy of religion, natural and revealed, to the course of nature. He who gave the Bible knew what was to be the course of nature; and the one is not to counteract or cross the

path of the other. Every advance which is made in science supposes a correspondent advance in theology, and is in fact a new development which is to throw some light on some obscure part of revelation. The revelations of the Bible do not contradict or contravene those of science, any more than the discoveries of the telescope contradict those of the naked eye. They carry the mind forward, and lay open the wonders of new worlds, but still worlds moving in harmony under the same laws, and subject to the control of the same infinite mind. And hence a new necessity arises before the theologian in this country, for profound acquaintance with science. Infidelity will endeavour to take advantage of the new developments of knowledge, and to render them tributary to its cause. And infidelity is to be met on its chosen ground, and the contest fought there. And it may be done. Butler has laid the foundation of an argument which is to be followed out to the end of time. Chalmers and Dick have shown that the farthest advances in astronomical science are not inconsistent with the revelations of Christianity; Cuvier, that fossil remains do not contradict the statements in Genesis; Buckland, that the investigations in geology accord with the accounts in revelation, and demonstrate the deluge; and Champollion has found proofs of the historical verity of Moses, in the hieroglyphics of Egypt. Never was there before so inviting a field spread out before the mind of man, in all the departments of science and literature, as in this country. It has all the freshness and glow of the early ages of the world; all the grandeur and sublimity, material and moral, which, in other times, have given immortality to the poet and the historian; all in law, in eloquence, and in morals, that is fitted to call forth the powers, and to make the most of man. It would seem as if God had here opened the field for the most unlimited exertion of power; and it is certain that we shall not be true to ourselves unless we and our sons enter this field,

and take possession of it all for the purposes of morals, of science, of religion.

That there may be departments in literature and the arts in which many nations have excelled, but in which we shall never equal them, we are not disposed to deny, nor need it be a subject of regret that we are compelled to deny it. The ancient Greek sought immortality, not only by chaste and profound productions in literature and philosophy, but by the chisel also; and the productions of his genius have travelled down to our time, and the breathing marble still excites our wonder. The world will, perhaps, never cease to admire the productions of Phidias or Praxiteles, nor should it. But there was a reason why the Greek sought to excel in this—a reason which does not and which will not exist in our own country. He had a stinted territory, and could enlarge his dominion only by colonies, and the consequence was that there was a vast amount of mind that would have been unoccupied but for the cultivation of these arts. He, too, was an idolater; and to decorate his temples, and to render them splendid and attractive, to preserve the sense of the national religion, demanded all that art could do. But *our* vast territory will give other employment for mind, and call it forth for more useful purposes, than to teach the marble to breathe. We have no religion that demands that its temples should be crowded with naked and indecent statuary, that corrupts while it allures and charms. It has been said that

> "These polished arts have civilized mankind,
> Softened the rude, and calmed the boisterous mind;"

and it *may* be that they may have had an influence in softening the savage traits of barbarous men, and in recalling them from war and plunder to more mild and gentle purposes. But who would presume to compare the "lascivious breathing of the lute," and the influence of unclothed statuary in temples

of lust, as at Corinth, with the influence of our schools, and our habits of industry, in perpetuating and extending public morals?

In like manner the modern Italian has aspired to fame in similar productions of genius, and Italy and France seek the ornaments of painting and statuary. But it is to be remembered that the mind of the Italian has not been free, and cannot be free. What production demanding thought, and contemplating freedom, has been allowed under the stern despotism that has reigned over that land that was once the birthplace of freedom? Can it be forgotten that it was under the government of that land that Galileo was immured in a dungeon? It is a land where freedom of thought has not been encouraged or allowed for fifteen hundred years. It is a land where all attempts to emancipate the human mind, and give it freedom of thought, would be repressed alike by the government and the religion. It is a land where the Bible is abstracted from the hands of men, and where mind is fettered, and where thought is imprisoned. And it is a land of luxury, and ease, and licentiousness, and pampered vice. And how can mind be employed there? It may be by arts congenial with luxury and effeminacy. The marble may be chiselled into all the forms which luxury may demand; the walls of the palace may be covered with all the decorations of art, and the canvas may be made to present exquisite forms and attractive beauties. The soft sky and air; the clime, the habits, the arts, nay, the religion, may all combine and aid each other in all that is soft, luxurious, effeminate, and sensual. But liberty is dead. There is no manly thought. There is no spirit of enterprise. There is no freedom. So these soft and enervating arts are adapted to luxury and effeminacy everywhere. Are they fitted for our own country? Here all is manly, vast, free, comparatively pure. Shall naked statuary be exhibited here, or naked figures on the canvas, and our sons and our

daughters be pure? Shall the public taste sustain and demand exhibitions that are adapted only to the seraglio, or to the palace where vice is practised almost without a blush? That will be a sad day for our virtue when the walls of our dwellings, or academies of art, shall exhibit what France exhibits without a tinge of shame.

And thus, too, with the drama. As productions of genius, who will, who *can*, undervalue the immortal productions of Shakspeare? But when has the drama contributed to public virtue? In what place has it existed where it has not been patronized by the effeminate, the unprincipled, the licentious? Where has it left men *better* than it found them? Where has it met with the slightest opposition from the sensual and the abandoned?—In regard to all these arts we need only say that our customs, our liberty, our religion, do not demand them. Our young men do not need them. A boundless field is open here for enterprise in all that is manly and noble. Talent is demanded here for *useful* purposes; and our country demands the aid of her sons to carry out her great and noble plans of liberty and virtue. Our nation is designed, we trust, by Providence to be great, and pure, and good. Our plans are to be vast and grand. All that which will go to mature and perfect the plans of liberty and virtue, is to be cherished and loved. All that would be effeminate, and luxurious, and sensual, and adapted only to palaces of luxury, and the effeminacy of courts, and to climes where freedom of thought is unknown, let it not reach our shores; but if it must exist, let it be confined amid the luxuries and the vices of the Old World.

It is natural here to inquire what is needful in order that *our* literature and science should assume the shape which our institutions demand, and put forth the vigour and influence which shall give them the widest power in this country?

And here, one of the first questions that meet us is,

whether, in order to secure the highest eminence, we should abandon the study of the ancient classics, and substitute that of modern languages, and the exact sciences? It is not proposed to go into an examination of this subject now. Nor, perhaps, is it needful. We believe that the public sentiment will work itself right. We have so much confidence in the good sense of our countrymen as to believe that they will not, certainly not without good reason, remove the landmarks of other ages. Nay, we should deem it impossible, were the attempt made, utterly to banish classical literature from our schools and from our land. Every man who begins to study a profession, were this species of learning driven from our colleges, would find himself so impeded in his way, and so trammelled; would find rising in his bosom such an instinctive desire to know what was locked up from him in the ancient tongues, that even at advanced life the man who wished to rise high would recommence his education, and at the expense of arduous toil attempt to recover what had been lost. Nor can it be denied that there is so much judgment and severe simplicity in the ancient models; so much fire, and force, and inspiration in their orators, and poets, and historians; so much that is profound and beautiful, that there will be among our countrymen an inextinguishable desire to become acquainted with the productions of antiquity. We have no fear that classic learning will ever be banished from our schools. We believe that it is too much adapted to mind, and thought, and liberty, and virtue, too, to be successfully driven from our seminaries of learning. The man who is to write our future history, and that is to be the Tacitus or Herodotus of this country, will not be satisfied with an acquaintance with Hume and Gibbon, but will wish to drink from the original fountains, and will give his days and nights to the Greek and Roman models. The man that is to sing the illustrious deeds of our fathers, or that is to soar into the regions of fancy

"above the Ionian Mount," will not be satisfied with the models which his own language furnishes, pure and sublime as they are, but will drink from those pure fountains beside which Milton and Cowper loved to repose—the loveliest and the purest of our own poets, and yet the most deeply imbued of all with classic learning.

But why, it may still be asked, is it needful, in a land like this, to retain the study of the ancient classics? Does not every thing in this country call for action? Is it not a waste of time, and of the powers of mind? May not all that is valuable be gained from a translation? And do not these impure sentiments tend to corrupt the youthful mind? These questions have been often asked. We may reply in few words:—

There is a period of life during the time of childhood to which the acquisition of a language seems peculiarly adapted. It is that time when the mind needs some constant discipline, and when we do and should become familiar with our own tongue. To that period the species of discipline to which we refer is fitted; and all the purposes of education demand that the mind then should have discipline. Yet what shall be substituted for the ancient languages? The study of our own tongue, rich and important as it is, cannot be made to occupy all that time. The mind is not mature enough for the investigations of the abstract sciences, or for pure mathematics. The rules of education cannot be made on the supposition that all minds at nine years of age are like that of Pascal. The researches of geology, of botany, of chemistry, are less adapted to that age than they are to some more advanced period of life. Modern languages might, indeed, be substituted; but it needs no proof that for the purposes of mental discipline they are not to be compared to the Greek; and we add that in point of real utility, a man entering any one of the learned professions, or any other calling of life, would find the Greek

and Roman tongues useful to him in ten instances where he would find occasion for the French, the Spanish, or the Italian, once.

Besides, literature and science should flourish in concert. They are necessary helps to each other. The mind is fitted for them. No intellect is fitted at *any* period of life to be constantly taxed with attention to matters of fact, and with the formalities of strict method, and patient induction. The whole moral constitution demands the invigorating warmth and impulse of the creations of genius. Men, young or old, can alternate from one pursuit to another, and in the change find relaxation and repose. But what child can bear the intense exertion required in a course of discipline where the ancient classics should be excluded?

The acquisition of a new language is like the acquisition of a new mental power. It awakens all the faculties into action; augments their growth and capacity; gives them precision and strength; and fits them pre-eminently for the purposes of analysis. It is to be added also, that the genius and spirit of an author is caught insensibly as he is studied. And if it be true that the ancients have furnished some of the finest examples of composition; have expressed some of the purest and noblest sentiments; have transmitted to us those which are adapted to nature, and which *ought* to live, it is unwise to banish them from the world, and to leave ourselves unaided, to form to ourselves new models, to waste our talents, and exhaust our energies in *recreating* that which is already prepared at our hands. That no translation can convey fully their simplicity, their fire, their inspiration, is known to every one. If those beauties are enjoyed to the fullest extent, they must and will be sought on the original page. It may be added, as it has often been said, that an involuntary tribute is often paid to the value of the ancient classics by those who oppose them. The arguments which are urged are those

which could not have been used, and are conveyed in language of beauty and strength which could not have been employed, but by those who have been familiar with the very classics which they oppose. Their "weapons are polished with Attic wit, and sharpened by the hand that once 'tuned the Ausonian lyre.'"

Nor is the study of the ancient classics unfavourable, as has been pretended, to the progress or relish of Christian truth. To all that has been said on this subject in opposition to their influence, we can reply, that the most distinguished Christian teachers, and those who have been most eminent for piety, have been the most zealous advocates of classical learning. This was particularly true of the Puritans; and this, in our own country, has been thus far true of their descendants. It might be further added, that it would be difficult to substitute in the place of the ancient classics models of greater purity in the modern languages. Who would prefer, in this respect, to the works of Cicero, Plato, Homer, or Virgil, what can now be found in the French, the Spanish, the Italian, or the German languages? Nay, can any man be ignorant, that, even in our own beloved English tongue, impurities and errors may be found, that far surpass, in evil influence, what the young man shall find even on the pages of Horace or Ovid?

Why, then, we may repeat, need the study of the ancient classics be proscribed and abandoned? It cannot be because there is not time and talent in this country to pursue it. For no man can be ignorant that there is in this land a vast amount of ill-directed, unorganized, useless, wasted talent. No man can be ignorant that a vast amount of genius here is thrown away. That talent, if chastened by wholesome discipline; if it could be collected in our schools; if the rovings of a licentious imagination, and the designs of unbridled desire, could be bound down to the severe and chaste examples of the past,

might be turned to prodigious account in the great purposes of this country. From this extent of badly-expended mind; this wide waste of intellect; this ever-active and planning and mighty mass of understanding that now burns and blazes, like the meteor, for naught, can any man doubt that sufficient may be taken for all the purposes of classic learning, and still the great designs of the nation be advanced? Nay, do we not need in this country, amid all our life, and ardour, and enterprise, and wildness of plan, just that severe mental discipline which is best furnished by classic learning?

It has been said, that a large portion of early life is wasted in these studies, and that by them the young man is retarded in his course to a comparatively late period of life. To those who have felt the force of this observation, we may make a single remark. It is not the length of time that is spent in the active duties of a profession, that accomplishes most; it is the power of concentration, the energy of action, the skill, the learning that may be brought to bear on the purpose. Newton had laid the foundation for all his glory when he was thirty; and nearly all that he did to give immortality to his name, was accomplished before he was thirty-six. Alexander the Great had conquered the world at thirty-three, and then died. The poems of Henry Kirke White were written when he was a youth, and amid the severities of classic learning, and he died. Brainard and Martyn died when scarce past the age of thirty, having done more to give permanent celebrity to their names than all that had been done by all the Cæsars. The Task of Cowper was written in a single winter; the Treatise on the Will, by Edwards, in less than half a year; the Paradise Lost, during a few years when Milton was thrown beyond the active duties of life. The skill of a moment, in the crisis of a disease, saves the life of the patient, and confirms the skill of a physician; the plan conceived in an instant decided the battles of Austerlitz, of Waterloo, of Princeton. Yet how much

study, how many patient years of toil, how many anxious hours are needful to prepare for such decided and rapid purposes of skill and talent! It is only those who have given themselves to patient study and toil, that can throw off, as it were, in an instant such works as the Task, or the Treatise on the Will, or that can make a decision at the bedside of the sick that shall save life, or in battle that shall change the destinies of nations as at Waterloo.

Be it remembered, too, painful as it is, by the young aspirants for professional honours, or for celebrity in the science and arts in this country, that not many years are allowed them in which to gather their laurels. Their race in the career of literature, or in the way to honour, must be soon run, and the goal soon reached, if reached at all. Whatever may be the cause, yet the fact is as true as it is sad, that no young man at the bar, in the pulpit, or in the medical profession, can calculate on more than twenty years of professional life. And will it not be better for him to spend his early years in proper mental discipline, and *prepare* himself for his work, and put forth *efficient* efforts, in the vigour of manhood from thirty to fifty, than, unprepared, undisciplined, inexperienced, to enter that profession at twenty, and pause, exhausted in his course, at forty, just when the mind is maturing, and when one year then is worth five like those when he began his way? Be it long, therefore, before we shall abandon what the world has thought wise and best, and give up our plans of classic learning. Be it ours to defend the utility of that course to which we owe whatever of usefulness and skill in our several professions we may have enjoyed. From the walls of this institution let not a love for classic learning ever depart; but may we be permitted always to know that this is a spot where the academic grove shall be loved as well as the sweet retreats of piety; and where the heights of Parnassus shall be ascended by those who love also to climb the hills of Zion; and

where rich draughts shall be drawn from the Castalian fount as well as from the waters of Siloam.

The demands of our country in the promotion of literature and science do not stop here. Ours is to be a land of freedom of thought, of large and liberal inquiry in all the subjects connected with literature, science, morals, liberty, religion. The great principle is to go forth through this country, and is never to be recalled, that there is no subject pertaining to the common welfare that may not be freely and fully canvassed and examined. We know we have not a right to go into our neighbour's dwelling, and discuss and examine the private matters of his intercourse with his wife and children; but every thing in which he and we have *a common interest*, may be the subject of the most free and full investigation. So in the affairs of this nation; all our opinions in literature, all our doctrines in science, in politics, in morals, in religion, pertaining to the common welfare, may be examined, and must and will be examined, to secure the healthful action of the human mind in this country. The main purpose of all our schemes of education is to be to teach mind to bear with the fullest power on all questions that pertain to the public welfare. And whether it be by classical study or the exact sciences, whether by oral instruction or public debate, the great principle is to be inculcated until it is wrought into the very framework of the mind, and until it glows and burns with ever-living light around the path of all our young men, that every thing may be fully examined. By any man, by any press, in any pulpit, in any legislative hall, in every primary assembly, in every debating-room, and before any class of our citizens, this right is to be held sacred, and to be defended by the last drop of the heart's blood. It matters not how many martyrs shed their blood in its defence; it will be worth all the price, and still be *gain*, if it is settled as the grand elementary principle in this republic.

This right is secured to us by the God that made us, and is inwrought into all the elements of freedom and accountable, moral agency. God has given us the right to examine all things, and investigate all opinions in science and in morals. He invites us to it by the original aspirations for truth which he has breathed into our souls, and which are as inextinguishable as the soul itself. He invites us to it in his own word; and no book ever written is so much the friend of free and ample discussion as the Bible. All his works invite us to it; the heavens gaze upon us at night, asking us to turn away from the earth, and investigate the laws of their motion. The heaving tides invite us to examine them; the bud, the opening leaf, the flower of the forest, the insect, and the lion of the desert, the elements around us, nay, the metals, the solid diamond, ask us to subject all to investigation with the utmost freedom, and to learn their nature. Our institutions are all based on this freedom of investigation. It is to be assumed here that all things may be examined and discussed. We have no liberty which does not suppose this; we know none which does not admit and defend it. Herein is our warfare with the kings and tyrants of the Old World; herein is our contest with those thrones of despotism that have so long tyrannized over man; herein is the reason why monarchs turn pale in their palaces, and tremble on their seats of power; herein is the contest of the Protestant religion with the Papacy; herein the struggle between freedom everywhere and arbitrary power. The thrones of despotism in political life, in religion, in science, have stood firm just so long as the maxim could be defended, that there were *some* points that were too sacred to be examined. Let it be maintained that there is one principle in science or in religion, one doctrine of government or maxim of law that may not be examined; that there is one tribunal of a court, be it the Inquisition or the Star-Chamber, that may not be examined; one custom that

may not be tested by reason and the Bible, or one mineral that may not be subjected to the crucible or the blow-pipe, and liberty is at an end; a wedge is entered that may be driven until the entire fabric shall be demolished. This doctrine, that all things may be subjected to free discussion, is the only thing that now spreads alarm over the despotism of the Oriental world, and that now threatens to subvert the thrones of Europe. All literature and science, as well as liberty, suppose this. From the time of Bacon, at least, it has been the maxim of the scientific world that all things may be subjected to investigation. The Novum Organum settled this point forever; and until the last copy of that undying work shall be consigned to oblivion, it is to be the rich inheritance of mankind against all tyranny in science, in government, in religion. Nature, when subjected to the torture, never leads us astray. When examined by the microscope, the telescope, or when under the action of the crucible, she never falsifies, or causes us to err. Through all her seats she utters a clear and unambiguous answer. And so it will be in morals and in religion. Mind is to meet mind; thought conflict with thought; the struggling powers are to come in collision with each other, and truth is to be elicited as the spark glows from the collision of the flint and the steel. And it is to be assumed in this nation, that if there is any thing in science, morals, or public sentiment, that can be proved to be wrong, it is to be abandoned forthwith; if any public custom cannot be defended, it is to be laid aside; *and if there be any thing in reference to which it is maintained that it may not be investigated, be it in morals, in habits, or in religion, it is to be assumed that that* MUST *be wrong, and that it is known to be wrong.* If there be any custom which is attempted to be so guarded that we may not know all about it—if there be any position, in regard to which men grow angry, and suffer their passions to kindle into a flame when we propose to examine it

—any thing in which there are public outbreakings and enormities when it is proposed to inquire into its nature or its moral character—and any thing where brute force is resorted to instead of calm and manly argument—it is to be regarded as *primâ facie* evidence that that is wrong, and is inconsistent with freedom.

The most appalling danger that threatens our country is the threatened restriction of the right of free discussion. We need not fear foreign armies; we have measured strength with them, and our swords have fought with theirs in deadly strife; and we know that our liberties are safe from any foreign invasion. We need not dread their fleets, for we can build a navy like theirs, and can, if necessary, meet the mistress of the ocean on the "mountain wave." But how shall we meet this subtle enemy? How, if Austria seeks, not by armies, to destroy us, but by a religion which forbids us to examine all things? How, if one half the nation shall refuse to their brethren the right of the fullest inquiry in all that pertains to the national morals, character, liberty, and welfare? The pulse of freedom beats languid when you diminish this right; it sends vigorous tides of life and health only when it is conceded that every thing may be examined. The most ominous feature in these times is, that this right has been called in question, and that it has been met with so much timidity, and so much yielding, and so much compromise, by those who should bleed and die rather than for one moment surrender this elementary principle of liberty. Be it where it may, and on whatever subject may be presented, we have a right to know what is proposed for our belief, and to examine it at leisure. And every man should make up his mind to pour out his life's blood like water, rather than admit the doctrine that there is any thing in our principles of literature, science, morals, habits, or political economy, pertaining to the public welfare, that may not be made the subject of the fullest investigation.

We may examine it at leisure. We may propose our sentiments when and where we please, subject only to the decencies of courteous and civilized life, and the restraints of the laws of the land; we may proclaim them from the press, in the pulpit, in the legislative hall, and on the house-top: nor is there to be any self-constituted tribunal that is to ask us why we do it, or that claims a power to bid us pause; nor any tribunal this side heaven that is to be regarded as having a right to interfere, or to amerce us by fine or imprisonment, by loss of life, or limb, or reputation, for the honest expression of our sentiments.

But it is not only needful that our literature and science should be thorough and profound, and that it should be distinguished by a spirit of large and unfettered inquiry; it is needful that, in its moral and religious aspect, it should partake of the purest character, and be in accordance with the true spirit of all our institutions.—This opens a wide field of remark; but we dare not trespass on the patience of this indulgent audience, by following out the ideas which we had designed to have suggested. You will bear with us while we submit a few remarks.

Every one must have been struck with the tendency, in nearly all the investigations of science, to be satisfied with second causes, and the reluctance to trace all events up to the Great First Cause of all, and in science, as in religion, to make

"Him first, Him midst, and Him without end."

There has been a strange reluctance, even among philosophic men, to

"Look through nature up to nature's God."

Now this is as unphilosophical as it is contrary to the spirit of religion. It is as much a departure from the true principles of the inductive philosophy as it is from the spirit of Chris-

tianity. Bacon, the father of science, saw this; and in his hands, and in those of Boyle and Newton also, the tendency of all investigations was to conduct the mind to large and noble views of the Creator. So it was, probably, in Cuvier, so in Linnæus, so in Davy. But this has not been the case usually in scientific investigations. The idea has obtained currency, that true philosophy would stop short of the Creator, and would repose in his works, shutting him from his own doings, and leaving us in a forsaken and fatherless world. And this has been, unhappily, the result of no small part of the scientific investigations among men. This is to be corrected; and this land presents a fine field for the correction of this idea. True science has not one word to say in favour of atheism or skepticism. There is not one star of all the heavenly hosts that responds to the feelings of the skeptic and the atheist, nor one insect, nor the petal of one flower, that does not contradict their feelings, and rebuke the spirit with which they look at the works of God. And the great truth is yet to go forth through all science, never to be recalled,—and why should it not echo through all this land?—that it is not unphilosophical for the creature to recognise the existence of the Creator—not proof of a want of manliness and independence to believe that this vast and wonderful structure of the universe contains *some* demonstration that there *is* an Infinite Mind.

It cannot be denied that, to a melancholy extent, the literature of the English language has been skeptical in its character, and even licentious in its tendency. It contains as many books that we would as reluctantly put into the hands of our children as the classics of antiquity. That there is a vast body of pure morality, of profound reasoning, of elevated sentiment in the English language, we shall be slow to deny. We shall not cease to render thanks to Heaven that such men as Barrow, and Locke, and Taylor, and Addison, and Johnson,

and Bacon, lived. But still how little, after all, is the great mass of English literature imbued with the spirit of Christianity! How little are the sentiments of perfect purity, and of liberty, and of evangelical feeling, inwrought, like the name of Phidias on the shield of Minerva, into the very texture and vitality of that literature!

Now, a literature that shall be thoroughly imbued with the Christian sentiment is demanded pre-eminently in this nation: for all our institutions are based on the gospel. A man who cannot read the Bible, and who does not learn his duty there, is a being that is not contemplated in our institutions. Christianity is a part of the law of the land; its spirit is supposed to breathe in all our laws, and to influence all our courts of justice. This was the religion of our fathers; and all plans that do not contemplate the existence and the influence of the gospel in the land, make a jar and a discord in our institutions.

The power of an infidel literature has been felt and understood in other times. The authors of the French Encyclopædia understood this power, and through a corrupted literature they undertook the mighty task of revolutionizing a nation, and of overturning the institutions of ages. They put forth that power, and France was bathed in blood; and its agitations and crimes showed how terrific was that power when the leading literature of a nation had laid aside entirely all reference to Christianity. So it will be in our own country, if the public taste shall demand or tolerate a literature that is unprincipled, that is licentious, that has cast off all moral restraint. So it will be, if fiction shall extensively take the place of truth; if poetry shall cease to honour God, and be the vehicle of corrupt, licentious, and infidel sentiments; if a pure morality is banished from our books of learning. So it will be, if the books which are to guide the young, which are to be placed in our public libraries, which are to constitute our

amusement and relaxation in the wearisomeness of our professional toil, shall be those which are licentious in their tendency, and which do not make the heart better while they furnish refreshment from care and relaxation from labour. On the rising generation, soon to be our poets, our orators, our historians, our writers of fiction, our lawgivers and moral instructors, our lawyers, and physicians, and ministers of religion, who are to be the guides in public feeling and sentiment, it depends to determine what is to be the character of our literature. We love our country and its institutions. Heaven grant that all the literature of this nation may be such as to extend a pure morality and a benign spirit of religion; and that the books which shall be thrown off by a groaning press may be such as may be safely placed by dying parents in the hands of their sons and their daughters.

To promote these great interests which we have been contemplating, this institution was founded. It contemplated a profound study of the sciences, and an extended and accurate acquaintance with the rich treasures of classic learning. It was established to train the mind for large, and liberal, and independent investigation. It was designed to connect the interests of science and religion, of literature and piety, and to send forth her sons imbued with both. It was intended to train up men who should in heart and in understanding be prepared to fill the various professions, to defend the interests of justice, to protect the rights of the innocent, to be practitioners of the healing art, to constitute leading men of intelligence and moral worth among the labouring classes of our citizens, and to be the heralds of salvation to a lost world. The founders of this institution never contemplated an organization where classic learning would be undervalued, where thought would be cramped, and the spirit of free inquiry would be repressed; nor where her sons would go forth with sentiments hostile to the pure spirit of the gospel, or at war

with the richly-bought institutions of American freedom. We give thanks to God, this day, that this purpose has not been thwarted. It has met with reverses; it has been embarrassed; it has been called to struggle with difficulties: but may we not be permitted to say that it has already sent forth men who would have been an honour to any institution, and men whom their country will delight to honour in all the professions and callings of life?

Our prayers ascend to Heaven for its success; and why should it not be successful? It has a location in one of the most beautiful, the most rich, and the most healthy portions of our land. It is in the bosom of an intelligent community, amply able to sustain it, and which will not be slow to appreciate the advantages of solid learning and moral worth. It is under the instruction of men who deserve the confidence of this community; and that confidence the community will not be slow to repose in them. It should have all the pecuniary aid which it needs; for every community is benefited tenfold to the amount of all its pecuniary sacrifices by an institution of learning, in its augmented intelligence, and in the diffusion of pure morality and the sentiments of religion. It should have the prayers of the friends of virtue and of religion, for no institution of learning can long flourish without the blessing of Heaven. It should have, and will have, our best wishes and prayers; and our hands and hearts should be ready to aid it.

Brethren of the Alumni Association!—We separate, in all human probability, not to meet again. We have been permitted to turn aside from the busy scenes of professional toil and care, to visit the place where we sought once to prepare ourselves for usefulness. We have come to congratulate the friends of this institution on its prospects of augmented prosperity. We congratulate him who is called to preside over it, and the community, and the friends of the college, that the hand of God

hath placed him there. We render praise to God that we have been permitted once more to meet that venerable man at whose feet many of us have delighted to sit, and by whose hand we have received the honours of this institution. We wait, before we go hence, only that we may lift the voice of entreaty to Heaven, that God would make the evening of his days tranquil and serene, and prepare him abundantly for that rest which awaits him in heaven; and to pledge ourselves, that, wherever we are, and whatever may be our situation in life, we shall rejoice to be able to advance the interests of our ALMA MATER.

XVII.

[BIBLICAL REPOSITORY, 1837.]

The Law of Paradise.

THE law of Paradise is stated in the following words, viz.: "And JEHOVAH God commanded the man, saying, Of every tree of the garden thou mayest freely eat; But of the tree of the knowledge of good and evil thou shalt not eat of it; for in the day that thou eatest of it thou shalt surely die." Gen. ii. 16, 17.

This important passage, on many accounts, has a claim to consideration and requires explanation. It is the first recognition which we have of the personal responsibility of man; and is the commencement of the institution of moral government in the world. It is the beginning of law;—of law everywhere now felt to be necessary to bind, govern, and restrain men;—and it involves the first statement of penalty—penalty inseparable from law, and the effects of which the world everywhere so painfully sees and feels. It is the first statement of an attempt to bind the faculties of man to his Maker by statute; and it is a beautiful illustration of the doctrine that the laws of God are designed to be proportionate to the capabilities of man. It is intended to settle this great principle in Paradise,—to usher man into the world, and to lay the foundation of all future society with this standing in the very forefront of all enactments, that the law binds faculties as soon as they begin to act; that man is a responsible being; and that the law of the Creator will be in all instances proportionate to the powers, and level to the capacity of man. The passage derives also special

importance from the fact that in it first occurs the awful, solemn, mysterious word, DEATH—and that even in Eden we hear announced the beginning of that tremendous train of ills which death rolls along on the earth, and of which all men so deeply partake. Strange that such a word should have been heard amid the bowers of Paradise! Strange that the melody of the groves and the voice of praise should have been interrupted and suspended while the Creator should utter the solemn words "Thou shalt surely die!" And the word is strange and mysterious still. The earth groans; and the race trembles, and turns pale, and weeps, under the dominion of death, and withers beneath his gloomy, far-stretching shadow. On every account, therefore, the passage before us demands our attention. Why is the "man" here mentioned alone as receiving the law? Why was the law given? What was its nature? What was the tree of the knowledge of good and evil? What was the penalty? Whom was it designed to affect?—These inquiries are all of the deepest interest. A portion of them it is our wish to answer in this article.

I. The first inquiry that meets us, is, why is THE MAN particularly designated? "And JEHOVAH God commanded THE MAN," &c. From this statement it has been sometimes inferred that God made a special compact with THE MAN as THE head of the race; and that this command was not binding on the woman except through him as her representative, in the same sense as he acted for all the race. An argument has been attempted to be drawn from this statement, therefore, to prove that God made a special covenant with Adam, in which the woman did not participate, and which was communicated to the woman by the man.

Without entering into this inquiry, at present, we may state the following reasons why THE MAN was particularly designated:—

1. It is usual in all narratives, statutes, covenants, &c., to

designate *man* as concerned in them without indicating the sex particularly. Thus we say that *man* lives; *man* sins; *man* dies; *man* is redeemed; *man* is a social being, is a moral agent, &c., meaning the race, and not indicating particularly the sex. It was the evident design both of Paul (Rom. v. 12) and Moses, to show that sin came in by the *parentage* of the human race. The idea of Paul (Rom. v. 12) is, that death did not come otherwise than by the fact that *man* was a sinner; and that this had its origin with the first of the human family. It may be remarked also, that the same thing is observed in all laws, and compacts, in all countries. Man is spoken of as entitled to priority and eminence in rank, and that priority is everywhere recognised.

2. The name *Adam* (*man*) was given by God to the first *created pair*, the parents of the human family. Gen. v. 1, 2: "In the day that God created man, in the likeness of God made he him; male and female created he them; and blessed them, and called THEIR *name Adam*." The name ADAM, therefore, or *man*, was the common name of the created pair; and by a command given to *man*, or to *Adam*, is denoted a command given to the united head of the human race.

3. That Eve was included in this command, and that it was known to her, and binding on her in the same sense as on Adam, is apparent by two considerations. One is, that she expressly regarded the law as binding on herself. She specified no exception in her case, and suggested no modification in regard to its obligatory nature, when the temptation was presented by the tempter. Gen. ii. 2, 3: "And the woman said unto the serpent, WE may eat of the fruit of the trees of the garden; but of the fruit of the tree which is in the midst of the garden, God hath said, YE shall not eat of it, neither shall ye touch it, lest ye die." It is evident, therefore, that both the tempter (v. 1) and Eve, regarded this special, positive law, that was to be a test of obedience, as binding on the woman as

really, and to the same extent as on the man himself. The same thing is apparent from 1 Tim. ii. 14: "And Adam was not deceived, but the woman being deceived was *in* THE *transgression;*" ἐν παραβάσει, that is, was implicated, guilty, participant of the guilt, whatever it was, of the transgression. The passage proves that there was no guilt in the case which was not shared by the woman. Indeed, the whole structure of the passage, and the argument of the apostle in the place, would rather lead to the inference that she was peculiarly guilty, or had a pre-eminence in the transgression.

4. In transactions where man and woman are mutually concerned, it is usual to speak of the man first, as being constituted superior in rank and authority. Thus it is in laws which are designed to bind a man and woman alike. They designate *man;* they pronounce a penalty for violation in him; but it is by no means designed to be understood as if they were not obligatory also on the other sex.

5. We discern here an instance in the very first organization of society of the respect which is given to man as of superior rank, and of the superiority with which he was invested. The transaction was with the man. The command was given *to* him. But it was evidently understood as applicable also to the woman. So Satan regarded it, (ch. iii. 1;) so the woman regarded it, (ver. 3;) and so it was evidently regarded both by Adam and by God. The man was thus deemed qualified to receive laws which should be binding on his wife and family—just as man now, by the constitution of society, is qualified to receive laws, and to act for his partner in life, in some respects, and for his children. He was regarded as the head of the family and of the race, and a law given to him, was, in fact, a law given to her, and to the entire race. On this principle society is organized still; and on this principle the world still acts.

6. The whole narrative is against the supposition which has

been made by many that Eve was guilty in this affair, only because the sin of Adam was imputed to her. That this opinion should have ever been held may appear strange, and incredible. Yet it has been so held; and, indeed, it is indispensable to the doctrine that *the sin of* ADAM is imputed to his posterity. For unless this be held it may follow that the sin of *Eve* may have as certainly affected their posterity as his. But the absurdity of this opinion is manifest. 1. There is not the shadow of a declaration that the sin of Adam was *imputed* to her, any more than there is that her sin was imputed to him. 2. Her offence was just as much a violation of the law as his; and in the same sense. The law was given to both; both were bound by it; and there is no specification that *she* violated it in *one* sense and *he* in another; that *her* violation was an *ordinary* offence, *his* a violation of a covenant; that *her* sin was not to affect their posterity, *his* was. They are mentioned as offences of the same kind; violations of the same law; and as subjecting themselves to the same penalty. 3. There are intimations of the same guilt in the transaction. Eve was *personally* guilty, and not guilty by imputation, and was so adjudged; ch. iii. 16. Adam was personally guilty and was so adjudged; ch. iii. 17. The serpent was personally guilty, and was so adjudged; ch. iii. 14. In all this there is no intimation that Adam was guilty personally, and as the representative, and Eve only by imputation. The direct contrary was evidently the fact. The doctrine is absurd. The very statement of it is contrary to the narrative and to common sense. That Eve should first sin, and then that this sin should not be charged upon her—should be passed over—and that in regard to the violation of this law, she should be held to be innocent until *Adam* had offended, and then that she became guilty only by his sin being charged on her as her representative, is so contrary to the history, and is such a confounding of all proper notions of innocence and guilt,

and of law and justice, that it is presumed no mind, unless trained long in the trammels of technical theology, can possibly believe it. If Eve was not guilty by eating the forbidden fruit, it is natural to ask why she was sentenced for this act, and why was not the sentence for *his* act alone? Ch. iii. 16. If she *was* guilty, and she was sentenced for this, and for this alone, then how could *his* sin be charged on her as her representative? And how would it be just at any rate? And where is there the slightest evidence of the fact? But if the law was given to Eve as well as to Adam; if she was held to be guilty in the same sense that he was; if the matter was a personal matter in both cases; if she was sentenced for *her* offence, and he for *his*, then it follows that here is *one* at least of the human family to whom *his* sin was not imputed; and then it follows that any notion of a peculiar covenant transaction with him, in which she was not concerned, is a figment of scholastic theology, and not a doctrine of Moses. And it is clear also, that unless the doctrine can be made out that the sin of Adam—though subsequent to *her* sin—was imputed to her, and that she was held to be innocent until *he* violated the command, the doctrine that *he* alone stood as the representative of the race, is one that receives no countenance from this passage.

7. The doctrine of Moses (Gen. iii.) and of Paul (Rom. v. 12) is, therefore, that the sin which introduced all guilt into the world, and all our wo was that of the *united pair*—the social head of the human race—called in their union (Gen. v. 1, 2) ADAM. To this united pair the law was given—to him first as then alone (Gen. ii. 15–17) before Eve was made; to her through him as being formed from him, and as being a part of himself, (Gen. ii. 21–24;) to him as being the superior in dignity, and rank, and authority, but also given as binding equally on her, involving *her* in guilt, when she violated it, of the same kind as his, (Gen. iii. 16;) subjecting

them alike to its penalty; and by their *united* crime—the crime of the united pair—the "one flesh" joined in the bonds of marriage, constituting the *oneness* of the sin or transgression which whelmed in ruin the whole human race. Had Eve alone sinned, the command had been broken, and a train of guilt and wo would have been introduced. She had been personally as guilty as she was when he fell. His fall made no difference in her crime, nor in its punishment. His fall completed the transgression; united them in guilt as they had been in innocence; in grief as they had been in bliss; in sickness as they had been in health; in subjection to the appropriate curse of the Creator as they had been in his favour; in the certainty of tears, and pain, and the corruption of the grave as they had been in joy, and the hope of immortality. The *united pair* fell—each personally guilty—and thus the ADAM (Gen. v. 1, 2)

"Brought death into the world and all our wo."

II. The next inquiry in regard to this law respects its nature. The statement of Moses is, (Gen. ii. 16, 17,) that God gave him permission to partake of the fruit of all the trees of the garden with the exception of the tree of the knowledge of good and evil.

It is needless to say that this statement has been made the subject of unsparing derision by the enemies of the Bible. They have alleged that no such tree exists; that the whole command was ridiculous; that to require the man endowed with an immortal nature, made in the image of God, and with dominion over the works of his hands, to abstain from a specified species of fruit was childish, and unworthy of God; and that to make the eternal destiny of himself and of countless millions to depend on so trifling a matter as eating or abstaining from an apple—for so infidels choose to term this fruit—was palpably unjust. The first inquiry is, into the account

which Moses has given of the tree of "the knowledge of good and evil."

The account in Gen. ii. 17 is, that it was a tree "of knowing good and evil." The LXX. render it, "the tree of knowing good and evil," *i. e.* the tree by which they were to be known, or might be ascertained. It has been supposed by some that the meaning is the same as when the same phrase is applied to infants to designate their entire ignorance, as in Deut. i. 39; Isa. iii. 16; Jonah iv. 11. But the expression in Deut i. 39, refers rather to the moral character of children as not having actually committed sin; or as having no personal, practical knowledge between good and evil. And *in this sense* that expression may be parallel with this, and may denote the same thing. The evident meaning is, that *somehow* by eating of the forbidden fruit of this tree they would obtain a knowledge of the distinction between good and evil to which they would otherwise be strangers.

A particular tree is designated as having stood in the midst of the garden. Gen. iii. 3. We are not, however, by any means, led by this statement to suppose that there was only *one* tree of this kind; or that there was any physical property in it to convey the knowledge of good and evil; or that it was of a species that has since ceased to exist, or which is now unknown. The name was given to it evidently by ANTICIPATION of the effect which would follow if the man should partake of its prohibited fruit. The narrative leads us to suppose that this was designated as *a simple test of obedience;* an appointed, or designated thing by which it would be known whether Adam would, or would not obey. Any simple act would have done this as well as the designation of a forbidden tree. Had Adam been prohibited from crossing a certain line or rivulet; had he been told not to ascend a certain hill; or not to pluck a certain flower; or even not to look in a certain direction, it would equally have been a test of obedience.

The tree was probably one of a species which abounded in Eden. It occupied a conspicuous place in the garden, (Gen. iii. 6;) and he would be, therefore, perpetually reminded of the law, and of the duty of allegiance. Obedience demanded no self-denial where all the senses might be gratified, and not improbably from trees of the same species and bearing the same fruit as that which was prohibited; and the whole matter was therefore reduced to the simple inquiry whether man was, or was not disposed to obey the command of his Maker. The law was simple; easily obeyed; adapted to the newly-formed being of limited knowledge, and of little acquaintance with his relations.

In regard to the meaning of the *terms* in the command, we may observe,

1. That the word *knowledge* here cannot be supposed to mean simply *intellectual* knowledge, or a capacity to distinguish between right and wrong. Because (*a*) such knowledge is not sinful; and it is everywhere regarded in the Scriptures as creditable in moral beings to be able to make that distinction. God has that power in the highest degree, and therefore it cannot have been designed to prohibit this, or to suppose that the participation of the forbidden fruit would have communicated this knowledge. (*b*) It is well known that the words *to know*, and *knowledge* are everywhere in the Scriptures used to denote not only simple intelligence, but an experimental sense, or an experiencing of the thing known. Compare Ps. ci. 4; Matt. vii. 23; Rom. viii. 7. See the concordance under the words *know* and *knowledge*. The word here means, therefore, that, by partaking of this fruit, Adam would have *a practical acquaintance with*, an *experimental sense of*, the distinction between good and evil. We are to remember that *before* this, his knowledge of the distinction must have been imperfect, and the result of vague conjecture. He had *seen* no evil; he had felt none. Around him all was

purity and bliss; within, all was contentment and innocence. Before the fatal act, all was conjecture; after it, all was fatal knowledge. Even now, with all our knowledge and observation on the evils of the world, there is a distinction between our views of evil before we experience it and subsequently, which may justify us in calling the one *ignorance*, and the other, *knowledge*. A man sees the effects of intemperance. But between simple observation of it, and actually becoming a drunkard and experiencing its ills, there is all the difference between ignorance and knowledge. A man reasons about affliction. But between his reasoning and the actual loss of a child, there is all the difference between vague, unmeaning conjecture, and knowledge of the deepest and most painful certainty.

2. The words "good and evil," may have one of two significations. They may mean either *moral* good and evil, *i. e.* holiness and sin, or they may mean happiness and misery. The words are used in both senses often in the Scriptures. Probably the two ideas are here blended. Holiness and happiness, and sin and misery are united, and one follows in the train of the other. The sense is, that, by violating this command, they would have an experimental acquaintance with the difference between holiness and sin; and, *as a consequence*, an acquaintance with the difference between sin and wo.

Such, then, was the obvious nature of the command given to our first parents. It was a simple law—so simple as to some minds to become the object of contempt and ridicule by its very simplicity. It was plain, and intelligible, and easy to be obeyed. It involved no self-denial, where all was abundant; and could only be violated by a wanton curiosity, or by the mere love of disobedience. It was easy to be obeyed; adapted to the nature and capacity of the newly created pair; and was such a command as we should *suppose* would have been given to the united head of the race when first created.

Yet no command ever issued from God has been the subject of more ridicule; and, in reference to it, a jest has supplied the place of argument, and the infidel has supposed he has obtained a triumph over revelation when he has raised a laugh, or made it the occasion of a gibe. It is a matter, then, of no small importance.

III. We are to inquire whether the narrative of Moses is capable of vindication; or whether there is such intrinsic absurdity in the statement that the mind is compelled to reject it.—We may make some observations which will tend to vindicate the statement; and then reply to the objections of the infidel.

In the vindication of this statement of the sacred writer, or in endeavouring to show that it was not absurd, we may make the following observations:—

1. It will be conceded on all hands that the created faculties of Adam were such as to render it proper that they should be placed under law. The idea of intelligence and moral powers, also implies the idea of responsibility. Where there is mind, and conscience, and will, there is, of necessity, the obligation to obey the Creator who has formed them. This is a matter which cannot be denied; and, indeed, it has *not* been generally denied, if at all, by even those who most abhor the Bible, and who most revolt at God's government. For *every* man feels himself bound to obey *some* law. There is some rule placed before him, to violate which is in his view to be avoided, and to violate which would be evil. The law may be very imperfect, or may itself be evil and mischievous; but there is *somehow* in his mind a sense of OBLIGATION. The very idea of one who has no sense of *obligation* to any thing—to a parent; to a lawgiver; to honesty; to morals; to truth; to self-respect, or to his country, is the idea which we have of an idiot. Wherever there is found intelligence, will, and moral sense, there must be obligation and accountableness.

And so deeply is this engraven on the human soul that it is impossible in the nature of the case to erase it. But if Adam was bound to obey any being, if he was under *obligation* to any one, it was to God. He had no other parent; he had no other superior. His powers, therefore, must have been at once, from the nature of the case, subject to the law and control of the Almighty.

2. It is equally absurd to suppose that God would have left him without any law, as it would be to suppose that Adam was under no obligation to obedience. The obligation to obey supposes that, in some way, a law should be made known or published; since it is obviously a violation of all the principles of justice to demand obedience to laws which are unknown, and of whose existence or nature the subject has no means of obtaining knowledge. That God would make known his will to the newly created man in some way, seems to be probable from all that can be known of the character of God, and of the circumstances in which the man was placed. That God would send a creature like man into the world, helpless, unaided, uninstructed; a creature ignorant of all things, and just opening his eyes on the world of wonders, is, in the highest degree, improbable. Every thing, therefore, in justice and in benignity, seems to have demanded that the Creator should have been also the lawgiver; and that the act of the creation should be nearly, at least, simultaneous with the giving of a law.

3. It would be natural to suppose that the law given would be such as would be adapted to the condition and the faculties of the man. God would not put the human powers to the same test that he would the powers of angels. He would not make a law that was to bind an *inexperienced* being, of the same nature that he would to bind a being of large powers and experience. He would not expect the same service of a child and of Newton, when mature in years and in knowledge.

He would not make a law in the infancy of society, and when moral relations were unknown or imperfectly known, such as would be adapted to the future developments of society, and to its higher stages of intellectual and moral advancement. We are to presume, therefore, that if a law was given it would be simple, plain, easily obeyed—and yet, easily violated.

4. It is a matter of fact that POSITIVE LAWS have been given to men; we mean, laws which depend, so far as can be seen, on the mere will of the legislator; or whose *reason* cannot be known at the time in which they are given. Many of the laws of parents are just of this description—laws which children are required to obey simply because such is the *will* of the parent. Many of the laws of the Old Testament are of this nature; and many of the laws in all civilized society are such as depend merely on the *will* of the legislator. Were all the laws of this description which now exist in the statute books stricken out, a large portion of the laws of all nations would be at once removed. That there should be a simple law of this nature in the commencement of society is not to be wondered at, or regarded as absurd. For there was a *special* reason why such a positive law should then be given. The design was to ascertain whether man would obey the *will* of God. Now, it is evident that this design could be accomplished only by some law which should be appointed by mere *will*, and which should not be suggested by the *reason* of the man. Had a law been given which was one suggested by reason simply, it might have been doubted whether *obedience* was paid to reason, or whether it was rendered to the *authority* of the lawgiver. When a law was given, however, which depended on *mere* authority, which was a positive enactment, it became a simple *test* of obedience to the will of God; and was a test which would have put the matter forever to rest.

5. All men are, in fact, put on trial with respect to their good behaviour. It is one of the great and universal principles on which society is organized; and we are not to wonder, therefore, that we find this take place in the case of Adam, and in the commencement of all society. Every individual is put on trial by the very circumstances of society with reference to his future life; and often in circumstances that bear a striking similarity to the case of Adam. It often happens, too, that the trial occurs in reference to some matter that is, or seems to be, in itself unimportant, but which may, in fact, constitute a test of character, and which may send an influence far into advancing years. When a young man, just entering on his way, resists the temptation for the first time to partake of a glass of intoxicating liquor, though presented in circumstances strongly inviting and alluring, the act may scarcely attract attention. It may be deemed hardly worthy of notice; but it may, in fact, be the *test* on which the whole of his character, success, and destiny may turn. Had he yielded, the whole circumstances and events of his subsequent life might have been varied. When a bribe is offered to a judge recently appointed, though it may be of small amount, and though it may require but little virtue to resist it, yet it is a test of the man's character. Had he yielded, the whole circumstances of his life might have been reversed. So when a young man begins his way in *any* profession or calling. It is a matter of fact, that, in regard to that calling, his virtue is subjected to a test or trial. The world offers its allurements; its honours, its wealth, its corruptions, its vices are placed before him, just as the forbidden tree was placed in the centre of Paradise, alluring and inviting, and yet forbidden. Ten thousand forms of temptation allure and invite; and his first act in public life, probably, will be an act of resistance. If he succeeds; if he is prosperous in his profession; if his virtue becomes secure, it will be as the result of *resisting* the

allurements that are presented, and of walking in the ways of virtue. And the *first* act of resistance may have determined all. Had he *then* yielded, he would have yielded more readily to a *second* temptation. Had his virtue been insufficient for *this*, it would have been insufficient for all. When the first temptation is resisted, it becomes easier to resist subsequent allurements, and his virtue is secure. Now, since this is the case in regard to the actual organization of society, and the actual state of events in the world, we are not to be surprised that we find the same thing in the commencement of the history of man. It had been rather a matter of amazement if the first man had been subjected to *no* trial, and if no form of temptation had been placed in his way.

6. This is equally true in regard to *society*. It is a fact that all *society* is, at its first organization, put on trial with regard to its future character and history. Its first acts; its first laws; its first customs send an influence far onward into its coming events and character. Its early virtue becomes the pledge of future virtues, and prosperity; its early vices, the certainty of future vices and disasters. The character of its founder affects all its history; and some simple deed of its first legislator may be, in fact, the *test* or *trial* on which the whole subsequent history shall turn. Every community is thus subject to a *test;* and we are not to be surprised that the earliest society, the germ of all organization in Eden, should illustrate the same principle which was destined to run through all communities. He that shall object to this, should make his objection of a broader character, and make it apply also to the actual current of events in the government of the world. Then his objection would not lie so much against the constitution in Eden as it would against the *actual* constitution of the universe; in other words, against that under which he is himself called to act,

and to which he has been subjected in the society of which he is a member.

7. This trial under which an individual or a community is placed, is usually some simple matter or rule which, in itself, seems to be of little importance, but which is immensely important in its results. The value of the thing at stake may seem to be a mere trifle; the consequences may be tremendous. In the case of a young man, for example, the *test* which is to be applied to him may be, whether he will partake of a glass of intoxicating drink, or whether he will abstain. There may *seem* to be little danger in it; and there may *appear* to be little dependent on an act so simple and so unimportant. In the act itself there may appear to be little that is evil. He might reason on the subject and say that "it *cannot* be a subject of great importance to me and to others whether I partake this once, or whether I abstain. Thousands have partaken with safety; and, at all events, it will be easy again to resist the temptation; and indulgence once does not infer the necessity of indulgence again." Yet that single act may determine his character and his destiny. It may have been that resistance then would have so fortified the forming principles of his virtue as to have secured, ever onward, his walking in the way of integrity. A second temptation might not have been presented. Or, *if* presented, it might have found him prepared to resist the allurement. The simple act of yielding once may have destroyed him. It loosened the foundation of virtuous principle; it made him accessible to a second temptation; it laid the foundation for a long course of sin, and was the first in a train of ills that terminated in the ruin of his body and his soul. Nay, more. It was the commencement of a series of ills and corrupting influences and calamities that would ultimately spread wo and despair through the bosom of a father or a mother; a sister or a wife; that might corrupt his own children in advancing

years, and that should extend pollution and death in widening circles—like the expanding circles on the agitated bosom of a lake—long after *he* had sunk to the grave. Now, suppose a voice from heaven should be heard addressing a young man in language like this: "The world is fitted up for your comfort. You enter into it for useful toil, and healthy and needed activity. Its pleasures are spread out before you. You may climb its hills; wander by its streams; pluck its flowers; dig its diamonds or its gold, when and where you please. You may slake your thirst in any of its fountains; bathe in any of its oceans or its streams; partake of all the fruit which ripens in the sun of the tropics, or all the productions of the colder north. You may range freely—make your own choice of the mode of life—select your companions and your dwelling-place, and form your own destiny. A world is fitted up for your happiness. The sun shall shine; the zephyrs blow; the earth teem with flowers and fruit for your comfort. The productions of all climes shall contribute to your health, your happiness, your usefulness. BUT—there stands in your way a single small portion of sparkling, tempting liquid, which you touch at your peril. You need it not to add to your enjoyment; and you taste it at the peril of the body and the soul. Taste it, and your virtue is ruined; your happiness shall be blighted; a frown shall rest forever on you; the heavens shall gather blackness over your head, and the earth shall produce thorns and briers beneath your feet. It is to be the *test* of your obedience; and is to determine your character and your doom for time and for eternity. It is easy to abstain. It requires no real self-denial. Abstinence will be attended with safety, happiness, heaven."—Now, would not a statement like this be liable to all the objections which have ever been made to the command given to Adam in the garden of Eden? And would not a satisfactory answer to the one be also a satisfactory answer to the other? And is

it not a fact that this is the way in which the world is actually governed? And do not laws in themselves simple, and actions in themselves unimportant, in fact, determine the destiny of men in all the relations and walks of life?

What act is more simple than that of crossing the threshold of a gambler? And yet *that* often determines the destiny of a man. What act more simple than the act of going to the house of her whose "steps take hold on hell?" And yet this determines the destiny of many a man.

Thus, a man's whole life is often determined by some simple circumstance. A slight direction given him at one of the turning points of life often determines all that ever follows, and settles permanently his destiny. What appears more simple than that on which a man's health, or even his life depends? Often, could the law be traced which really determines a man's health or life, it would be as simple, and as liable to objection as that in Paradise. Health and life often depend on some simple article of food. Some subtle poison may lurk where we expected nutriment. A drug —unimportant and odious, perhaps, may determine all in regard to the health, or life of an individual, and through him all that is valuable in the liberty and happiness of a nation.

The principle which is established here is, that the destiny of men is often, in fact, determined by some law that in itself seems to be unimportant, and whose appointment is liable to the same objections as those which are brought against the law of Eden. And if this is the way in which God actually governs the world, we are not to be surprised that we find the embryo of this same scheme in the very commencement of our history, and in the first organization of society.

8. *If* a simple law was to be given to test the character of the man; if man was thus early to be put to trial; and if his trial was to have so important results, then the only question

is, whether the law which was actually given was one which it became the lawgiver to ordain, and which was fitted to the circumstances of the man? It is evident that any *rule* would answer the purpose intended. It matters not what the rule was, provided it was adapted to the powers of the man, and provided it was made known to him. It might have been a prohibition to cross a certain stream, or to go to a designated spot; it might have been a prohibition against looking toward heaven at a certain period of the day; it might have been a command to suffer a certain part of the garden to lie waste and uncultivated; or it might have been a prohibition against plucking some designated flower or fruit. The only circumstance which we can suppose would have led to the designation of the object which was to be a test, would be that there should have been some *tendency* or *inclination* in the man *to* that thing; or something in the thing itself, or in his inclination toward it *so strong* as to constitute a test, or trial of his virtue. For if the thing were wholly impracticable, or if there were no inducement of any kind, or any inclination toward it, to prohibit it would constitute no test, or trial of his virtue. The appointment of a designated fruit, meets all these circumstances. The law was simple and easily understood. It was easy to be obeyed; and, therefore, adapted to the capacities of one just entering on his existence. The thing that was prohibited was not *needful* to life, or even to comfort—since all his wants were amply provided for—and from any thing that appears, *other* trees in the same garden might have borne in abundance the same kind of fruit. And there was a tendency, or inclination to it, sufficiently strong to make it a test of obedience. There was the allurement of appetite that needed to be gratified, and which would prompt to the participation of this fruit—not exclusively—but in common with the other fruit of the garden. Whatever the infidel may say of the narrative, therefore, there are some

points on which he can urge no objection. They are those which have been specified. Man was bound to obey his Maker; positive laws everywhere exist; all individuals and communities are subjected to a trial more or less severe; the trial is usually in some matter that is in itself of little importance; and this trial was adapted to the circumstances of the newly-created man. It remains only to notice some of the objections which the infidel might allege against this statement.

1. The first is, that it was unworthy of God; that to make the eating or not eating of the fruit of a single tree connected with such results, is ridiculous and absurd; that no man can believe that God would do it; and that it has the appearance of a crude and foolish story, rather than the aspect of sober and dignified historical truth.

To this we answer in addition to what has been already observed:—1. That if it was *ridiculous*, it can be shown to be so, and the reason *why* it was so can be pointed out. It is easy to say of any thing that it is ridiculous, but there is argument neither in a jest nor a sneer. If any thing is absurd, the absurdity can be specified and seen. Besides, it would be easy to say the same thing of many other laws and facts, which are, nevertheless, a matter of sober and melancholy verity. It might be said that it is absurd and ridiculous to make a man's happiness and life depend on so simple a matter as abstinence from a glass of intoxicating drink; and yet nothing is more common than such an occurrence. 2. If it be said that this command was too *simple*, and too easily obeyed, to constitute a test, we answer, (*a*) that the very fact of its simplicity is an argument in favour of the truth of the narrative. It better evinces the *goodness* of the lawgiver than the appointment of a law of greater severity would have done. It was, besides, adapted to the condition of the man. Had a law been given to Adam such as might be given to Gabriel,

or to a man now, every one sees that it would have been disproportioned to his capacity, and *then* the objection would have been well founded that the law was unjust. As it was, its *simplicity* was in favour of the man; and the fact that *such* a law was violated, serves to vindicate the Creator from all blame. Was a severe trial desirable? Is it not always a circumstance that shows the equity and goodness of the lawgiver when his commands are easily obeyed? But (*b*) the event showed that the law was severe enough. Notwithstanding its simplicity, it was broken. The slight temptation led to its violation. It was, therefore, a law of sufficient *severity* to constitute a test; and its simplicity should not be an objection against it. (*c*) We may add, that the same objection will lie against most of the laws which *now* determine a man's character. We have seen on what slight circumstances the destiny of men often hangs. And if the *simplicity* of the law given to Adam is an objection against the probability of its being from heaven, that argument is at once answered by an appeal to facts as they actually occur in the world. A man that was urged to swallow a drug to save his life, and that was told his life depended on it, might, with the same reason, say that it was ridiculous. And yet, this would not prove that that was not the law appointed by heaven on which his restoration might depend, and that only by this could his life be preserved.

2. A more material objection to the statement of Moses may be, that it was unjust to make so great consequences depend on an action of so little importance as that of eating or abstaining from the fruit of a single tree; that the punishment of death could not be proportionate to the offence; and that, to make the eternal destiny of himself and millions depend on *such* an action is so unjust and severe, that it is impossible to credit the statement of Moses. The death of millions on earth, and the woes which precede death—the

train of sorrows here, and the inextinguishable fires of an eternal hell, it is said, are too great interests to be involved in an action so trifling, and in the consequences of a deed which was momentary.

In regard to this objection, we may observe the following things:—

First. That the question about pain in this life, and death, and eternal suffering, is not to affect the present inquiry. That men suffer here now, and that they die, is a matter of fact about which there is to be no controversy. For the same reason we are to lay out of view, *just now*, the justice of future punishment. That men may suffer in a future world, is just as proper and as probable as that they suffer here; and that they *will* thus suffer, is a fact which is made known to us by revelation. Whether the command respecting the forbidden fruit was given to Adam or not, these are *facts* that belong to our melancholy history, and that cannot be called in question.

Secondly. If it was designed that the conduct of Adam should have *any* influence in determining his own future happiness; if it had any bearing on his continuance in life, and in the circumstances of his departure, then the command, being simple and easily obeyed, was the most favourable that could have been given. On the supposition that his disobedience in any way would bring death and wo into the world; on the supposition that his conduct *could* be such as, under the divine arrangement, would be the eternal undoing of himself and his posterity, unless redeemed, then it is not possible to conceive how it could have been arranged in circumstances more favourable to himself and to his posterity than it was. The law was *simple*—and this circumstance was actually more favourable to him, and gave a better promise of a happy issue, than if it had been obscure, and complicated, and unintelligible. It was easy to be obeyed, and the temptation to

disobedience was small—and this circumstance is more favourable to a continuance in virtue than if had been difficult; than if it had been disproportioned to his powers; than if the temptation had been mighty; and than if it had required angelic powers to resist it.

Thirdly. Change the circumstances of the case, and grant what the objector would seem to demand. We assume here as a matter of fact, and as a matter not called in question by the point of the objection, that the fall of man *would* involve himself and his posterity in ruin. Now suppose that the law on which these stupendous and eternal results depended, had *not* been of such a character as that stated by Moses. Suppose it had *not* been simple, easily understood, or easily obeyed. Suppose it had involved temptation up to the full powers of the man; suppose it had required service up to the utmost limit of human ability; suppose that God had required of him a service that involved every thing but impossibility, does not any one see that this would have had altogether more the appearance of injustice than in the case stated by Moses? Would it not have placed the world under circumstances of positive disadvantage compared with those on which, according to the sacred writer, the affairs of the world were actually commenced? And would not this have been liable to the *real* objection that there was severity and harshness in the laws of the Creator; that, so to speak, man had but a slender *chance* of obedience and happiness?

Fourthly. The greatest events in the universe depend often on causes as liable to objection as this. The planets are bound in their orbits by simple laws. They move regularly and harmoniously. While they thus move, every thing is well; and the material universe is safe. But who can tell what would be the effect of the *slightest deviation*—say in the planet Jupiter, from its fixed and settled laws of motion? Suppose it were to deviate ever so little from its regular path; and

suppose the deviation should be such as should compare well with the slight deviation of Adam from the path of rectitude. What astronomer could calculate the effect which it would have on the worlds and systems with which it is connected? What part of the universe would be safe from the threatening rush of matter and crush of worlds? The order of the universe, so to speak, depends on the unvarying preservation of an infinite number of simple laws that *must* be observed, or ruin will rush at once through all the worlds and systems of the universe. Thus also it is in moral conduct. Is any one ignorant that the mightiest consequences often depend on actions that seem to be of little importance. The safety of the Roman Empire, and the destiny of the world, once depended on the simple question whether Cæsar should or should not cross the Rubicon. The destiny of the kingdom of Persia once depended on the neighing of a horse. The simplest action often determines the destiny of a man or a nation. An error, a fault, an act of neglect in some small matter that passed unnoticed at the time, has decided, ultimately, many a battle, and the destiny of many an empire. Great events often depend on small causes; and *trains* of events, most prosperous or most disastrous in their issue, often result from some action that at the time passed unnoticed, and that sent its influence far into advancing years. So the water gushes forth from the base of the mountain—forms a rill—swells to a river—and rolls on its impetuous torrents to the ocean. The result of conduct thus spreads, and widens, and expands, until all connected in any way with the original agent feel its effects, and are blessed or withered by its influence. It is easy to speak of the transaction with Adam in the language of ridicule, and the voice of contempt. But if it shall be carefully examined, it will be found that, *somehow*, Moses has stated here an arrangement that accords strikingly with all the arrangements of the world, in which actions themselves

apparently of little importance, strike onward into coming times, and spread their influence over ages and generations of men. If so, the objection, lying as much against the ordinary course of events as against the statement of revelation, is of force against neither; since it is the *actual* mode in which the world is governed.

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XVIII.

Thoughts on Theology.

"Prudens futuri temporis exitum
Caliginosâ nocte premit Deus;
Ridetque si mortalis ultrà
Fas, trepidat. Quod adest, memento
Componere æquus."

HOR. CARM. lib. iii. ode xxix.

WE propose, in this article, that the following topics shall guide us in our remarks:—Theology, in its reference to the unknown; to the tendencies of this age; to the methods of reasoning employed in its defence; and to its permanent foundations in the nature and the wants of man. These topics may not appear, at first, to be very intimately connected. At the close of the article, we trust that they may appear to be more so than they seem to be at the commencement.

Much of theology pertains to the unknown; and to that nearly all the difficulties in the science belong. The same is true, however, of every other science, and every other subject of inquiry. Most of the science of astronomy, using that phrase as denoting what it would properly embrace, belongs to the unknown. We have determined the size of the earth, the distances of the planets, the laws of their motion, the magnitude of the sun, the course of a few of the comets, the parallax of one or more of the fixed stars; we have given names to some of the celestial bodies, mapped out the heavens, and determined the form of some of the nebulæ; but who pretends to know any thing about those worlds? Thus, too, in the world

beneath us, we demonstrate the existence of forty millions of siliceous shells of Galionellæ in a cubic inch of Bilin polishing slate;* but who pretends to know when their inhabitants lived, or what were the habits and the laws of their being? So, too, we have uncovered the world before the Mosaic period; but who knows how long it existed, or what were the habits of the beings that dwelt upon it, or why they were made? The geologist tells us of their shapes and forms; but what more?

We are everywhere amid the unknown, and the mind is always asking questions about the unknown, and always embarrassed in regard to it. Man has always felt the difficulty in natural theology; and it comes up in a new form, and with undiminished power, in revealed theology—for perhaps no one ever studied the Bible as a professed revelation from God, who had not such questions cross his mind as the following:—Why is there so much in this book that is obscure and unintelligible? Why is not more information given on great and important questions about which the human mind has always been perplexed? Why is no more light thrown on the subject of moral government; on the question why sin and misery were allowed to enter the system; on the nature of the happiness of heaven; on the reasons why the wicked are to suffer forever? Why are so many things left in total darkness in a professed revelation, and others with only such a feeble glimmering of light as almost to make us wish that there had been none?

And these questions produce increased perplexity and embarassment when such thoughts as the following occur, as very likely they will, in connection with them:—(1.) All this knowledge must be with Him, and it would have been apparently easy to remove all our perplexity by a simple explanation—almost by a single "stroke of the pen." (2.) Such

* Humboldt's Cosmos, i. 150.

an explanation seems to have been demanded in order to clear up his own character and dealings. There are many dark things about his government; many things that give occasion to hard thoughts, to murmurings, to aspersions on his character which his friends cannot meet, and to difficulties which they cannot solve; and, instead of removing these, he has so left the matter as to perplex the good, and to give occasion for the unanswered reproaches of the wicked, where an explanation might have removed the whole difficulty. (3.) Such an explanation seemed to be demanded as an act of benevolence. We may suppose, in one view, that, since he sees all things clearly, and knows how his character and government will be ultimately esteemed, he might be willing, for a time, that they should rest under a cloud. But we cannot help asking why, under the influence of benevolence, he did not make such explanation as to remove perplexity and distress from the human mind? Man, by nature, is in darkness. He is embarrassed and troubled with his condition and prospects. He struggles in vain to obtain relief by the unassisted efforts of his own mind. A revelation is proposed. But on the most important and perplexing of his difficulties; the things in respect to which his mind is in the deepest darkness; it seems only to tantalize him, leaving him as much in the dark as he was before. And (4.) All this difficulty is increased when he reflects how much of this book that comes to him as a revelation, is occupied with histories which have lost much of their interest; with names and genealogical tables now of little or no value; with laws pertaining to rites and ceremonies long since obsolete; and with narratives often of apparently little dignity and of slight importance. The thought will cross the mind, Why were not those portions of the book occupied with statements which would have been of permanent value to mankind? Why, instead of these, did not God cause to be inserted there important explanations about his own character, the mode

of his existence, and the principles of his government; about the condition of the heavenly world, and the state of the lost? Why did he not tell us for what reason sin and misery were allowed to come into the system, and why the wicked must be punished forever? Disappointed, troubled, and half-feeling that he is trifled with, many an inquirer after truth is tempted to throw the book aside, and never to open it again with the hope of finding an answer to the questions that most deeply agitate his soul.

These are bold questions which man asks. They may be improper; they seem to be irreverent: but improper or irreverent, he asks them, and is impatient, and perhaps indignant, that they are not answered.

Yet they are not answered. So far as we can judge from the manner in which revelation was actually given, assuming that the Bible is a revelation from God, it was clearly his design to leave many subjects, and among them some of those on which the human mind is most inquisitive, and most perplexed, perfectly in the dark. It was intended that not a ray of light should be cast on them; that nothing should be imparted which would constitute a basis of even a plausible conjecture. It was clearly the purpose of God, to fix, so far as this world is concerned, an outer limit to human knowledge, without even a hint to gratify curiosity.

There is a limit to the human faculties; a point beyond which man cannot go in answering the various questions which may occur to his mind. That point may not yet have been reached on any one subject; but clearly there is such a point, and beyond that all is dark. Occasionally, a bright genius appears upon the earth, who is endowed with almost superhuman powers, who seems to secure, almost by intuition, all that man had before discovered, who starts on his own glorious career where others have left off, and who is prepared at once to penetrate the deep profound which mortals never before

have trod, to open the eyes on new regions of thought, and new worlds of matter; but even *he* soon comes to the outer limit of the human powers, and will always feel, as Newton did at the close of his life, that the great ocean of truth is still unexplored. "I do not know," said he, "what I may appear to the world; but to myself, I seem to have been only like a boy playing on the sea-shore, and diverting myself in now and then finding a smoother pebble, or a prettier shell than ordinary, while the great ocean of truth lay all undiscovered before me."*

The attainments which man may perhaps make on any subject, are not yet reached. But whatever may be the attainments which may be made in the general progress of society, or whatever light may be shed on objects now obscure, by the men of transcendent genius that may be raised up from age to age, there is an *outer limit* to all such progress—a point beyond which all is involved in Cimmerian darkness. The ancients, in their ignorance of the true structure of the earth, supposed that it was surrounded by interminable seas; and that whosoever should venture out in a right line from the land, would soon enter regions deepening in darkness, till not a ray of light should be visible: and they feigned one such voyage, in which the mariner stood boldly for the West, until terrified by the increasing darkness, he turned the prow of his vessel, and sought again his native shores. What to them was fable in regard to the structure of the earth, is truth on the point now before us. There *is* an outer limit beyond which there is to us no light. As men are ordinarily endowed, they have no faculties to penetrate it; and no genius arises so superior to ordinary men, as to be able to carry the torch of discovery into those unexplored regions.

Thus particularly it is in regard to the revelation which

* Brewster's Life of Newton, pp. 300, 301.

God has given us. (*a*) There are many points on which no statement is made; on which no hint is given that would relieve the anxiety of a troubled mind. (*b*) There is nothing stated merely to gratify curiosity. If we go to the Bible to learn what is duty; to be informed how a sinner may be saved; to obtain correct rules of conduct to guide us; to discover some promise that shall support us in temptation and trouble; to learn in what way we may acceptably worship our Maker; to know what we are to *do* in the relations of husbands and wives, parents and children, and masters and servants; to ascertain what we shall do for the poor, the ignorant, the oppressed, the prisoner, we never consult it in vain. If we go with a question of mere curiosity; with a desire to obtain some response that shall be of no practical advantage; with a wish to gain that which shall flatter our self-esteem, or inflate us with a vain conceit of knowledge; with some problem that pertains to that dark unknown region in respect to which we are most prone to inquire and to complain—we are sure to return with not even the respect shown us, that would be involved in the most ambiguous and unmeaning response that was ever uttered at Delphi. (*c*) Far on the hither side of what we would wish to know, the line of knowledge is drawn; and the book is closed at what may be called, without irreverence—or which, whether irreverent or not, expresses the feelings of many a mind—a provoking point:—just at the point where we would be glad to ask questions, and where we by no means feel satisfied with what we possess. (*d*) As a matter of fact, therefore, whatever conclusions may be drawn from it, favourable or unfavourable to revelation, there is a great variety of subjects, many of them of great interest to the human mind, which are left totally in the dark, and in which the utmost efforts of ingenuity to make the Bible, and to make nature speak out, have been utterly ineffectual. The silence which meets us in these inquiries, is somewhat like the mysterious silence of the dead. If they

live, why do they not return? Why do they not come back and answer the anxious question which we so constantly ask, What is it to die? Why do they not come and tell us, in the expressive language of Foster, "*what it is to be dead?*" Why do they not come and tell us whether they are happy, and how we may be? Why do they keep their countenances so fixed and grave? And why do the lips, once so ready to impart knowledge, now keep themselves so close on the very points on which we would be glad to have them speak out?

We may wish it were otherwise. We may wonder why it is not. We may feel ourselves embarrassed and perplexed, and may be sad: we may now be disposed to murmur, and now to be skeptical, but so it is. As believers, or disbelievers in revelation, and as its friends or foes, we are constrained to admit that there are many points, and those among the most important on which the mind can make inquiry, on which not a ray of light is shed. For ourselves, we are willing to concede, that among those points are the questions why moral evil was admitted into the system; why misery ever found its way into the empire of an infinitely benevolent and an almighty Creator; and why the period will never arrive, when, throughout all the universe, sin and wo will come to an end. On these, and on many kindred topics, we confess we have never seen a ray of light cast by any human speculation; nor by any reasoning employed on the subject, have our minds ever been put into such a position that, if the matter could have been submitted to us beforehand as to what the Creator would do, we should not have said that these things would not be; nor into such a position that we have ever ceased to wonder that they are so, and are to be so forever. We have, indeed, been *silenced*, but not *convinced*, by those speculations; we have been placed in such a position that we could not prove that the reasons and explanations alleged were *not* the true reasons and explanations; but, after all these reasons and explanations, the mind

goes back to its former state of difficulty, and there it remains until it finds acquiescence in the saying of our Redeemer, "Even so, Father, for so it seemed good in thy sight." Other men think that they see light on these points; we see none. Let two things, however, be said here. One is, that these subjects have no particular connection with the Christian revelation, nor is Christianity responsible for them. It did not introduce moral evil, nor does it defend or continue it. These things pertain to great and indisputable facts; and with their explanation, man, under any and every other system of philosophy or theology, is as much concerned as under the Christian system. The only real question, so far as the Bible is concerned, is, whether it has made a just record of the facts—not whether the facts can be vindicated:—as the only real question about the History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, and the History of England is, whether Mr. Gibbon and Mr. Hume have fairly recorded the *facts* about the character of Nero, Diocletian, and Richard III., not whether the character of those men can be vindicated, or whether they have given a satisfactory reason why such men were suffered to live. The other thing is, that the darkness resting on the subject of moral evil does not disprove *the fact* that it has been introduced, and that it still exists; nor, for the same reason, will any darkness respecting its continuance, even though it should be forever, demonstrate that it may not be so. Our ignorance in the one case does not disprove the fact; how can it in the other?

Yet it is this that embarrasses us in theology. It is not that which is *known*, for that is clear enough; it is *the unseen* and *the unknown*. It is this that gives form to the various methods of reasoning employed on the subject; this that produces certain tendencies in the theology of each age, according as there shall be more or less hope of removing this darkness, of explaining these mysteries, or of penetrating the future and

disclosing to men what is yet to come. The fact that these things are not explained makes skeptics of one class of men, and leads to the peculiarities of various theological systems of another. To some of those tendencies, it is proper now to advert.

There is a true system of theology, as there is of astronomy, anatomy, chemistry; and the world is engaged in an earnest inquiry to find out what it is. It is not to be assumed in any given case that a man is not honest in his inquiries, nor that he who sees difficulties is an infidel; nor is the language of harsh denunciation to be employed because he suggests his difficulties, and makes known the strugglings of his soul, to the world. There is something that tends to shape and modify the prevailing systems of theology in each age: to make them what they are then, and different from what they were at other times. The prevailing views of science; the systems of mental philosophy; the perceived errors of former ages; the enterprises in which men are engaged; the temperament of an individual or a people, all tend to modify the theology of an age. "One man professes a theology of the judgment; a second, that of the imagination; a third, that of the heart; one adjusts his faith to a lymphatic, another to a sanguine, and still another to a choleric temperament."* There is, further, a tendency in each age growing out of the characteristics of the few guiding minds in that age. It was morally impossible that the system proposed alternately by Arius and Athanasius should not respectively prevail; it was impossible that the system of Augustine should not impress itself upon the world; it could not have been otherwise than that Peter Lombard, the "Master of Sentences," and the Father of the Schoolmen, should stamp the peculiarities of his views on entire generations of men; and it could not but be that thousands of minds should

* Professor Park's Convention Discourse, p. 33.

be determined in their views of theology by the reasoning of Edwards. And so there is a tendency to a peculiar form of theology arising from the idiosyncrasies of those that *would be* guiding minds of an age. Usually, this number is larger, and much more confident and clamorous, than those which are destined by their Maker to rule. They adopt strange opinions; propose startling theories; delight in paradoxes; lay their reasonings in obscure and shadowy regions, where ordinary men cannot follow them, and where no one can prove exactly that the things affirmed may not be so; substitute poetry for logic, and, rejecting the syllogism, reject also all the ordinary methods in which men have been accustomed to see the connection between premises and conclusions. They deem it sufficient proof of originality, that they depart from the prevailing forms of orthodox belief; or they imagine that they have discovered original and hitherto unknown truths, because they have the power of employing a language unintelligible to other men.

In noticing, now, the tendencies which exist in our own age, we may refer to the following:—

(*a*) That which grows out of the demands of science, insensibly modifying, if not claiming the right to control, all the prevailing views of theology. We refer now to the natural sciences. In apostolic times, and long after, Christianity encountered the oppositions of mental science, and the warfare was there; for there was little of "science *properly* so called," with which it could come in collision. We have fallen on a different age; and we are in no small danger of taking those texts in our preaching where the apostles spoke of the *false* sciences of their day, as the foundation of our discourses in reference to the *real* science of our own times. We believe that the sciences should be much more thoroughly studied by those who are to be the theologians of the next age, than they are. We will not say whether there should be more or less

attention paid to the Latin and Greek Classics than there now is; but we may say that the theologian is to live among men who care and think a great deal more about astronomy, and natural philosophy, and chemistry in its application to agriculture and the arts, and political economy and the principles of civil government, than they do about the measures of Greek and Latin verse, or the correctness of the text of Homer or Virgil. Science, in this age, marches with a very confident and aggressive step. It has prescribed no limits to itself, except those of the universe. It has no doubts about the correctness of its own conclusions; and in all its forms it usually, as one of its first demands, requires the surrender of some established dogma of religious belief, or claims that the prevailing interpretation of the Bible should be modified to meet its new revelations. The Bible was written in a remote age, and in a land where there were few pretensions to science; but yet, while its great purpose was not to teach science, but theology, it was unavoidable but that it should volunteer many statements on points on which science would, in future ages, make its own disclosures. The Bible has stood the test thus far; and its friends were willing to make some surrender to the demands of science. For there were interpretations of the Bible which had prevailed in the church, and which had become a part of the settled faith, which were contrary to truth, and which ought to be abandoned. Thus it was in respect to astronomy; thus it is probable there were in geology; and thus there may be on other subjects. But there is a tendency to ask more than this. It is, that point after point shall be yielded until there shall be nothing left worth retaining:—not only that we shall detach the false interpretations from the Bible, though hallowed by ages, and sanctioned by creeds, but that we shall admit that its proper and fair interpretation comes in conflict with the revelations of science. Here is to be the war of the next generation; and here arises the ten-

dency to depart from all the proper laws of interpreting a book, to adopt the whole system of allegorical interpretation, making the book contemptible; to deny the entire doctrine of inspiration—maintaining that the Bible *contains* a revelation, instead of *being* a revelation; or, admitting certain facts as actually existing in the world, to make the whole Bible a *Myth*, to be classed with the beautiful creations of the Grecian Mythology.

We are to make up our minds as Christian theologians, that the subjects of science will be pursued with very little respect to the dogmas on which the results may impinge. The blowpipe, the telescope, and the microscope pay very little deference to the interpretation of the Bible by theologians respecting the first chapter of Genesis, or the statements of the Bible about the origin of the human race. It is never assumed by the geologist when he examines his fossil remains, or by the astronomer when he directs his glass to one of the nebulæ, that the Bible is true; and whatever may be his private opinion or his hopes on the subject, the result is not to be modified, in his apprehension, by his theological belief, nor by what is taught in the theological seminaries. This is as it should be. No friend of the Bible should object to it: it would make no difference if he did. Each science should be pursued in its own way, and by the proper evidence in its own department, and with no respect to the question whether the conclusions which are reached will impinge on the conclusions reached in some other department of the great field. Let every man take care of his own profession. If the doctrines which are held on the various subjects of human inquiry are true, they will all be harmonious in the end; and if any of the opinions hitherto regarded as correct are false, it is well that the falsehood should be disclosed by investigation in *any* department. For ourselves, we are ready to concede this prin-

ciple to any extent, and we see not how its correctness can be called in question, whatever application is made of it. We are willing to admit that it must not be assumed by the geologist or the astronomer that the Bible is true, for that may be the very question which is under trial, while the investigation is going on; and it will not help the geologist in his investigations, or contribute to the ultimate triumph of truth, to assume any thing on the subject, one way or the other. Let us not bring a text of Scripture to instruct the chemist in determining the falsehood of the phlogistic theory, or in ascertaining the properties of a metallic base; and let him not come with his blow-pipe and retort to tell us how to ascertain the true meaning of a passage in the Bible. If we are both right, we shall harmonize at last; if not, the sooner it is known, the better.

We do not speak on this point as teachers of science, but we may say, on the theological side, that in the claims of science; in the demands which are made for concession, for surrendering old opinions, and for shaping the interpretation of the Bible to the new aspects of science in our age, we are not to concede that the Bible does not teach *any thing*. There must be a limit to the demands which one science may properly make of another, and to the concessions which are to be made. The Bible is not a "nose of wax" to be moulded to any shape; it is not a violin on which any tune can be played; it has a teaching of its own, and the business of the theologian is to find out what that teaching is: and when that is done, he is not to attempt to make it speak a different language from that which the words properly convey; nor, by forced exegesis, to seek to make it conform to every new doctrine in the other branches of knowledge; nor to suppose that all the new disclosures of science were anticipated by the prophets, and were wrapped up in an allegory. If, on a fair interpretation of his book, he can hold to that, and the new facts disclosed, let him

rejoice that they are harmonious; if not, let the one that is false be abandoned.

(*b*) We would notice next, as one of the tendencies of this age, and growing also out of a desire to ascertain the unknown, the wish to penetrate the future, and to give definite form to that which is to come.

Men have always had this desire, and there has been nothing in the past which has done more to determine the efforts of the human mind than the attempt to find out some way in which the dark vail which hides the future might be lifted. There is a great law of our nature which pants to be informed on this subject, which is one of the indications of our immortality; and the records of the past, and the efforts of the present, show how active, and potent, and restless is the operation of this law in the bosom of man. Human sagacity always goes as far as it can go in arguing from the past as to what is to come, and some of the profoundest exhibitions of talent have been in such disclosures. But men desired to go farther than this. The ancients inquired of pretended or real prophets. They asked whether in dreams, when the mind seemed released from its natural laws, there might not be an actual intercourse with unseen spirits, by which the future and the unknown might be disclosed. They endeavoured to make a compact with the dead, supposing that the whole secret of the future must be with them, and that to favoured mortals they might be willing to make it known. They inquired of the stars, the wandering and the fixed; examined their conjunctions and their oppositions; supposed that they might exercise an influence over the fates of men, or being spiritual existences, might disclose the secret; and hence the science of astrology, a science which even Lord Bacon says is not to be rejected as false, but is to be reformed. They watched the flight of birds; listened to the voice of thunder; examined the viscera of animals; consulted the palms of the

hands; approached reverently the oracle of the priestess, and inquired of the stranger,* if, perchance, they might learn any thing about the future, and calm down the agitation, and soothe the anxiety of the soul.

We know of no one who, in any age, has felt this desire more keenly, or who has expressed it more strongly, or, we may add, who has evinced more impatience under the answers which he was able to obtain on the subject, than John Foster:—a man whose mind was second to none in his age for profound thought, and who spent so large a part of his life in intense contemplations on the future; for through life he seemed to

> "Walk thoughtful on the solemn, silent shore
> Of that vast ocean we must sail so soon."

"That mysterious hereafter! We must submit to feel that we are in the dark. Still, a contemplative spirit hovers with insuppressible inquisitiveness about the dark frontier, beyond which it *knows* that wonderful realities are existing; realities of greater importance to it than the whole world on this side of that limit. We watch for some glimmer through any part of the solemn shade; but still are left to the faint, dubious resources of analogy, imagination, and conjecture; and are never satisfied with any attempt at a defined conception, shaped by other minds than our own."† "The whole hemisphere of contemplation appears inexpressibly strange and mysterious. It is cloud pursuing cloud, forest after forest, and Alps upon Alps! It is in vain to declaim against skepticism. I feel with an emphasis of conviction, and wonder, and regret, that almost all things are enveloped in shade."‡

This strong feeling, this ever-existing and insatiable desire to penetrate the future, and to bring before the mind that which is to come, in some definite shape, may have done some-

* Job xxi. 29, 30. † Life, ii. 239. ‡ Ibid. i. 61.

thing to determine one of the forms which theology assumes in this age. Restless under the unknown, and dissatisfied with the views which have prevailed, and not willing to leave the subject in that *seeming* obscurity which shrouds it in the Bible, men throw themselves into the future, and describe a glorious kingdom, which is to be set up yet on the earth. The mind, not content with the very general statements in the Scripture respecting the prevalence of righteousness upon the earth, or with the quite general intimation of mere *futurity* in regard to it, enters into detail, and seeks to comprehend precisely what there shall be hereafter. Here the imagination has full play, and a kingdom is described on earth with all the attributes of Oriental magnificence. The Saviour, descending in glory, is to reign personally. A magnificent city, his home and capital, is to be built. A temple is to be reared superior to all the glories of that of Solomon, or of the Alhambra. The pious dead are to rise, and are to go forth with him to the conquest of the world. A retinue is to accompany him, worthy of the majesty of the Son of God: and on the earth, where he was poor and despised; where he was waylaid and persecuted; where he was put to death and laid in a grave, he is to reign so long, and to display so much magnificence, and to receive so much homage, as shall be a compensation for all that he endured when he tabernacled in the flesh. The very time of his coming is fixed, and the eye of faith and hope is looking out on the sky for the sign of his appearing.

We are speaking of this as one of the tendencies of this age, and as marking the efforts of the human mind to find an answer to the inquiries which it suggests, and not at all with reference to the truth of the representation. As a form of theological belief, it has at least this advantage, that no one can undertake to determine with absolute certainty that it may *not* be so:—for who, in that unknown, unpenetrated future, can tell what may be?

(*c*) There is a shape which theology is extensively assuming in this age, originating in the feeling of compassion, kindness, and charity. The foundation of this lies far back in our nature, and it is developing itself in various forms in society, and modifying many other things besides Christian theology. In some respects, it grows out of progress in civilization and refinement, and cannot be rebuked without the suspicion of a desire to go back into the days of barbarism. It takes offence at the sternness and severity of Puritan virtue, and Puritan notions of religion, and Puritan manners. It looks, if not with absolute indulgence, yet with a less stern aspect on crime. It is disposed to apologize for guilt, as arising rather out of the infirmities than the bad tendencies of our nature. It seeks to modify the whole subject of punishment; demands that pardons shall be frequent, and when pardon is granted, looks upon it as a *right* which the offender has, and would send him forth as a man that was wronged by being punished at all. It seeks to make the abode of the guilty a place of ease; to introduce into the prison all the comforts of a quiet and intelligent home; to give to the convict all the means of enjoyment which he could find in a private dwelling; to obliterate all the memory of his crime, save the almost unknown record on the books of the court that condemned him; to hide his very name, so that no one shall know that he was ever convicted as a felon, and to send him forth to take his place in society with all his former advantages, and with the additional circumstance in his favour that he has been, so far as he has suffered at all, a meritorious martyr. It seeks, in pursuance of the same end, the entire abolition of all punishment by death; or since that cannot always be secured, a compensation for that desire is found in the prevailing belief that all who do thus die, like the penitent thief, enter at once into Paradise; and, supported by the words of assurance uttered by reverend ministers of the gospel,

consolation is found in the belief that the wretched murderer is penitent, and is ascending to glory.

We are not now speaking of this feeling to praise or condemn it, but only in reference to its bearings on theology. One class of persons may regard it as indicating the progress which society has at last made in that which is good and refined; another will regard it as proof of loose notions of right, and as tending to obliterate all the natural sense of justice in man. But no one can fail to see how it will bear on the subject of theology, and on the question about the condition of the violators of law in another state of being. For man, in the systems of theology which have commonly prevailed, is regarded as a guilty being. He is a violator of law. He has incurred the divine displeasure. He is exposed to a doom in the future world, compared with which all the forms of human punishment here must be regarded as trifles. But the compassion which looks with so much kindness on the offender, considered as a violator of human laws, why should it not look with the same compassion on the offender, considered as a violator of the law of God? The kindness which seeks to make the abode of the felon a place of ease, why should it not seek to make our own condition, considered as violators of the law of God, also a condition of comfort? That regard for human life, and that dread of punishment, which would abolish the penalty of death, why should it not, in the same spirit believe, or if it cannot yet believe, *hope* that all punishment may wholly cease, at some time in the future world? And the kindness which sends every murderer who is seen to shed a tear to heaven, or which trusts that he may have shed a tear of penitence, though it may not have been seen by mortal eye, why should it not trust that all the offenders against the law of God will yet be pardoned and saved? For how can it be supposed that such a state of *martyrdom* as hell is commonly supposed to be, can be continued forever under the administration of a benevolent,

or, perhaps, rather under the administration of a just God:—for the hope of the final salvation of all men is always founded rather on the *justice* than the *benevolence* of God; in the feeling that it would be *wrong* to punish men forever, and not in the feeling that they will be saved by *mercy*.

It need not be denied that there is a feeling in our nature which prompts us to desire the salvation of all men. It need not be denied that we cannot well answer the question, why it was not so arranged—as we cannot answer the question, why sin and misery came into the system at all; and we are not disposed to deny that much of the reasoning urged to defend the doctrine of eternal punishment, grates hard on all the sensibilities of our nature, and rather tends to increase than diminish the difficulties with which the mysterious subject is environed. We do not wonder at the strugglings of such a mind as that of John Foster on the subject; nor at the strugglings of *any* mind in regard to such a doctrine as that of the *eternal* pain and anguish of the creatures that God has made. Yet it cannot be denied, also, that the doctrine retains a firm hold on the public mind; that in the midst of all its intrinsic difficulties it is generally regarded as true; that it finds its way into the settled belief of the most enlightened portions of mankind; that no arguments can dislodge it from the human bosom; that when there is so strong a natural propensity to hope for the contrary, and to believe the contrary, no intrinsic difficulty in the doctrine itself, no darkness that surrounds it, can drive it from the human mind. We argue from this, that God *meant* that it should be believed to be true; that somehow in the nature of man, he has secured the permanency of that belief in spite of all that philosophy or skepticism can ever accomplish.

(*d*) There is, also, growing out of the relation of theology to the unknown, a tendency which the world has agreed to call by the appellation of *transcendental*. It is a desire to

penetrate the hidden and the unknown by means not in the possession of common men, and by a method of reasoning above that which has been commonly employed with so little success. Its language, to common apprehension, is mystical; its explanations, to common minds, increase but the difficulty which it seeks to remove; its revelations, to them, require a new and a clearer revelation to understand them; its arguments are such as make an impression only on the minds of the few, and which convey no ideas to the uninitiated and the profane; its flights are beyond the power of common minds to follow them; its worship is in the sacred recesses of a temple which the feet of other men cannot tread, and the worship in that temple seems to be conducted where there is no light. We do not blame this; we do not presume to sit in judgment on it; we refer to it, just as we have to the ancient efforts of Sybils, Haruspices, and soothsayers—of necromancers and astrologers; as one of the devices of the struggling mind of man, to find out what there is in the unknown; to penetrate the veil which hides the unseen; and to answer the questions which the human mind asks about that which is invisible and eternal.

(*e*) And akin to this, there is another tendency which may be referred to in a word. Aiming at the philosophical, it seeks, in fact, to give a dramatic or a mythical representation to theology. It asks whether there was not some great object to be secured by an ideal or a scenic representation; by an "altar scene" in human redemption; by a visible representation, *as if* an actual atonement had been made to accomplish by the *ideal* scene what it might be supposed a *real* atonement would accomplish, or what the human mind supposes should be accomplished by an atonement; and in fact it asks whether the statements in the Bible may not be explained on the supposition that all that has occurred in redemption, is but a splendid illusion that has been made to pass before the minds of men.

Or, taking a larger stride, and moving with more self-confiding boldness, though on the same general principle, it asks whether all that there is in the Bible may not be resolved into a *myth*, and take its place among the creations of fiction. In this view, there are, indeed, certain great facts on which the Bible is based—facts lying in the nature and the undoubted history of man; and, assuming those facts, the Bible is the creation of poetry, and its statements about the fall, and the incarnation of the Son of God, and the life of the Saviour, and redemption, are just the clothing of these facts in a material garb; a narrative, the work of the fancy, to give them such form and substance as truth received in the older systems of mythology.

These things, too, indicate the restlessness, and, perhaps we might say, the dissatisfaction of the human mind in regard to the "unknown" in theology. They are expressive of a condition of soul not contented with what we have; a struggling impatience to obtain more; a wish to make that plain which seems to have been designedly left obscure. There is much in these things that is attractive; much that charms the fancy; much that appears to be wisdom; much that would seem to meet the anxietics of the human bosom:—we add, much that will commonly be more attractive to those in early life than to those who think that they have lived long enough, and have reflected enough, to see that no real difficulty in theology is removed by these methods, and that, after all that genius can do, man must at last settle down in the belief of numerous things as *facts*, which he cannot explain. Yet no one should be unwilling that genius should attempt to explain these things if it can, or be disposed to charge one with fatal error whose mind struggles with a great subject, and who seeks to remove some of the difficulties that environ it. But, after all, the ultimate result may lead us to repose in the simple testimony of God as to what is *fact*, feeling that there is an infinite future, a boundless

eternity, in which all that is now obscure may be made as clear as noonday.

We proceed, in the next place, to speak of the reasoning employed in theology.

There can be no doubt, we think, that the reasoning of theologians, and especially of preachers, passes for very little with large classes of men, and is often regarded with much less respect than that which is employed in the other professions. We will not undertake to say how much of this is owing to the fact that the subjects on which the reasoning is employed are distasteful to the natural heart, or to the fact that reasoning is always likely to be regarded as weak and inconclusive which is employed to convince us that we are in error. Nor will we now bring in, as an element in the explanation of the point before us, what some would be disposed to regard as itself a sufficient solution, that "the natural man receiveth not the things of the Spirit of God: for they are foolishness unto him: neither can he know them because they are spiritually discerned," (1 Cor. ii. 14;) for, though true, this text is often applied to soothe and satisfy our feelings of self-complacency when we think we have argued well, but when the force of our reasoning is not perceived by our hearers. Thus many a prosy and indolent preacher, whose arguments make no impression, takes consolation in this text, and is satisfied with this as an explanation of the fact that his arguments neither convince the understanding nor affect the heart. But, laying out of view all that may be said in regard to these points, there is, to use the language of the merchants, quite "a large margin" to which this solution is by no means applicable. It is still a fact that there is much reasoning in theology that is little adapted to convince the minds of thinking men. They may not look upon it exactly with contempt, but it fails to remove their difficulties and to satisfy them. Is it not true that, in this respect, the mass of men go to hear a

preacher, or take up a book of theology, with a different expectation from that which they have when they enter the Senate Chamber, or listen to an argument at the bar, or attend on a scientific lecture, or read a book on natural philosophy? Do they not expect to find a kind of reasoning resorted to in the one case which would not be employed in the other, and which men would not resort to if they had carefully studied the laws of mind, and were in earnest in convincing their hearers of the truth of what they say?

We are not ignorant that injustice is often done in the case; and we are aware that there is a kind of reasoning that is appropriate to every department, and that we should not demand that in the pulpit which we may in the laboratory;—not exactly that on the doctrine of the atonement or the Trinity which we may in a work on Conic Sections. We are aware, too, that there may be much reasoning in any branch of science, or in any one of the professions, which, to the uninitiated, may seem to be inconclusive and powerless. Thus, there is much reasoning at the bar that makes no impression on the minds of a juryman or a bystander; there is much in geology that seems weak to the friends of the Bible; there is much even in the mathematics which seems to be contradictory or evanescent. But this does not explain the whole difficulty before us.

The kind of reasoning to which we refer may, for convenient arrangement, be divided into that which is weak in itself; that which is antique; and that which is transcendental.

(*a*) That which is weak or inconclusive in itself. There is no class of men that are so liable to rely on this kind of reasoning as preachers of the gospel. (1.) There is the fact of their position. They stand alone. They have no keen and wary adversary, like the lawyer, to detect and expose the flaws in their arguments; to show their irrelevancy, or to take advan-

tage of their sophisms, their mistakes, and their blunders. At the bar, he "that is first in his cause seemeth to be right, but his neighbour cometh and searcheth him." In the pulpit, the preacher seems to himself throughout to be right, for there is no one to examine his position, or even, in the language of the book he expounds, to "open the mouth or to peep." (2.) There is the fact that he is accustomed by his position to *teach;* and there has always been a disposition in the clergy to keep up the impression that they are authorized, if not semi-inspired, *teachers,* rather than that they are men whose opinions are to be measured in value, and in their claims to the attention of others, by the amount of argument that may be employed. Gowns and cassocks, surplices and bands, have been, in this respect, mighty helpers in the reasoning of the theological world; and if with these there can be connected a belief in the apostolic succession, it is felt, to the same extent, that logic may be dispensed with. (3.) There is the fact that the reasoning employed in the pulpit has been sanctioned and sanctified by long usage, and is often identical with the best feelings of piety, or is actually employed to defend the truth. To every one of the true Christian doctrines there has been appended in the books, and in preaching, a method of reasoning that has been hallowed for ages. To doubt the force of an argument, is construed as doubting the truth of the doctrine itself; and he who calls in question the correctness of the one, is set down as denying the other. Many a young man in a theological seminary is on the very verge of infidelity from the nature of the reasoning employed by the professor in defence of that which is true, and which might be well defended; and many a youth in our congregations is almost or quite a skeptic, not because he wishes to be, but because that which is true seems to have no better argument for its defence. (4.) And then there is a secret satisfaction with his own reasoning in the mind of the preacher himself, arising from the sanctity of the

subject. It is, in his apprehension, above the ordinary methods of reasoning employed by men. The weakest reasoning will be much aided by a clear spiritual vision; the demand for more satisfactory reasoning will be set down as proof of a "carnal" mind; and the first business of the hearer is not to sit in judgment on the soundness of the argument, but to clear his own mental vision; to become invested with a new faculty for perceiving truth; to pray for divine illumination that that which seems to him to be so weak may be made to appear clear and strong, and that he may be brought to confess that the difficulty is not in the arguments presented, but in the obstinacy and blindness of his own heart.

We are ready to admit that, from these and similar causes, there is much weak reasoning in theology. There is much that, we apprehend, would not continue to be employed in the pulpit, if the powers of the preacher were sharpened by such conflicts as occur at the bar; there is much in the books that would be worth very little in any other profession. We are willing to admit that, in regard to our own minds, or to any impressions made on our minds, there belongs to that category a great part of that reasoning which is connected with types; not a little that is founded on the prophecies; no inconsiderable part of that which relates to the doctrine of eternal punishment, and a lamentably large portion of that which depends on the manner of quoting the Scriptures in sermons, in Confessions of Faith, and in the books of theology. We think we see much of this kind of reasoning in the arguments, on both sides, on the subject of the Trinity and the atonement; on the evidences of divine revelation; on the inspiration of the Scriptures; on the immortality of the soul; on the will; and on the five points which separate Arminians and their Calvinistic brethren. We see the effect of this, we think, in the state of many minds that are on the borders of skepticism; and in the tendency to go off from the established

forms of belief, in an age when men can be no longer held by the authority of councils or the doctrines of the apostolic succession, or by the fact that an argument employed in the defence of the truth pertains to a sacred theme, and has been sanctioned and hallowed for ages.

As an instance of the method of reasoning often employed by theologians, and sanctioned in the schools, we refer to the following argument of Turretin, whose work, even in our age, is a text-book in some of our theological seminaries, and whose reasonings are proposed as models in training the ministry of the present age. The argument is compacted and arranged according to the nicest rules of logic, and is designed to demonstrate beyond possibility or doubt, from the Scriptures, that the Copernican system of astronomy must be false, and the reasoning, in his own apprehension, must stand unrefuted as long as the authority of the Bible will be respected by mankind:—

"He propounds the inquiry, 'Do the sun and moon move in the heavens and revolve around the earth, while the earth remains at rest?' This he affirms, 'in opposition to certain philosophers,' and sustains his position by the following arguments:—'First. The sun is said [in Scripture] to move in the heavens, and to rise and set. Ps. xix. 5: The sun is *as a bridegroom coming out of his chamber, and rejoiceth as a strong man to run a race.* Ps. civ. 19: *The sun knoweth his going down.* Eccles. i. 5: *The sun also ariseth, and the sun goeth down.* Secondly. The sun, by a miracle, stood still in the time of Joshua, (Josh. x. 12–14;) and, by a miracle, it went back in the time of Hezekiah. Isa. xxxviii. 8. Thirdly. The earth is said to be *fixed immovably.* Ps. xciii. 1: *The world also is established, that it cannot be moved.* Ps. civ. 5: *Who laid the foundations of the earth that it should not be removed forever.* Ps. cxix. 90, 91: *Thou hast established the earth and it abideth. They continue this day according to thine ordinances.* Fourthly. Neither could birds, which often fly through an hour's circuit, be able to return to their nests; for, in the mean time, the earth would move four hundred and fifty of our miles. Fifthly. Whatever flies, or is suspended in the air, ought [by this theory] to move from west to east; but this is proved not to be true from birds, arrows shot forth, atoms made manifest in the sun, and down floating in the atmosphere.' If it be replied

to this reasoning that the Scripture, in natural things, speaks according to the common opinion, Turretin answers, 'First, that the Spirit of God best understands natural things; secondly, that in giving instruction in religion, he meant these things should be used, not abused; thirdly, that he is not the author of any error; fourthly, neither is he to be corrected on this pretence by our blind reason.' If it be replied, that birds, the air, and all things are moved with the earth, he answers, 'First, that this is a mere fiction, since air is a fluid body; and, secondly, if so, by what force would birds be able to go from east to west?'"—*Compendium Theologicæ Didactico Elencticæ.* (Amsterdam, 1695.) See President Hitchcock's Religion of Geology, pp. 11–13.

We insert the following note of Blackstone, respecting the influence of scholastic discipline in the study of the law in the English universities, as another specimen of this mode of reasoning:—

"There cannot be a stronger instance of the absurd and superstitious veneration that was paid to these laws, than that the most learned writers of the times thought they could not form a perfect character, even of the blessed virgin, without making her a civilian and a canonist; which Albertus Magnus, the renowned Dominican doctor of the thirteenth century, thus proves in his Summa de laudibus christiferæ virginis (divinum magis quam humanum opus) qu. 23, sec. 5: 'Item quod jura civilia, et leges, et decreta scivit in summo, probatur hoc modo; sapentia advocati manifestatur in tribus; unum, quod obtineat omnia contra judicem justum et sapientem; secundo, quod contra adversarium astutum et sagacem; tertio, quod in causa desperata: sed beatissima virgo, contra judicem sapientissimum, Dominum; contra adversarium callidissimum, dyabolum; in causa nostra desperata; sententiam optatam obtinuit.' To which an eminent Franciscan, two centuries afterward, Bernardius de Busti, (Mariale, part 4, serm. 9,) very gravely subjoins this note: 'Nec videtur incongruum mulieres habere peritiam juris. Legitur enim de uxore Joannis Andræ glossatoris, quod tantam peritiam in utroque jure habuit, ut publice in scholis legere ausa sit.'" 1 Blackstone, 21.

(*b*) There is a kind of reasoning in theology, which, for the want of a better term, we have called "that which is antique." It cannot be denied that that which is truly sound in argumentation is equally forcible in any and every age; for truth

does not vary as the world grows older. But no one can doubt that a method of reasoning may be employed in defence of the truth, and may serve to keep up the knowledge of truth at one period of the world, and in a certain state of pervading mental philosophy, which is, in fact, a mere sophism, and which in another age would have no force whatever; as the rights of man might be defended in one age by armour and by weapons which would constitute no protection in another—for who now would intrust the defence of liberty to a Grecian phalanx, or to a Roman legion, or to the knights of the dark ages? Now, there can be no doubt that much of the reasoning employed by the early Christian fathers, by the schoolmen, and by the Reformers, really had no intrinsic force then, and has none now. It was based on erroneous views of the mind; on ignorance of the natural sciences, of history and of geography; on false views of language; on false apprehensions of the divine government; on principles of dialectics then esteemed sound, but which have long since passed away. That reasoning answered a purpose then, as greaves, and shields, and spears, and bucklers did in the defence of liberty. It, in fact, kept up the truth in the world. It preserved many minds from skepticism. It served to convince and satisfy the men in the generation in which it was employed. But it would have no force now, and answer no valuable end—any more than the weapons of the ancient warfare would be of avail against a well-appointed park of artillery, or be of use to storm a bastion. And yet theologians, more than other classes of men, are prone to recur to that method of reasoning, and to suppose that all wisdom died with the fathers. No anatomist now thinks of referring to an ancient Greek teacher of the art of sculpture, to illustrate his science; no teacher of Materia Medica, or of the Institutes of Medicine, thinks it important to follow the reasonings of Galen or Hippocrates; no geographer desirous of learning the actual structure of the earth, thinks it important to

study Eratosthenes, Strabo, Mela, or Ptolemy; and no inductive philosopher would think that he would be materially aided in his science by the syllogisms of the Stagirite. "Of the ancient philosophy, the greater part is lost; the remnant is chiefly useful as an historical phenomenon. Not a single treatise, except the geometry of Euclid, continues to be used by the majority of students for its original purpose."* Yet, in theology, who has failed to see the proneness to rely on the reasoning employed in former ages, and to reproduce the reasoning as if it were adapted to every age? As, with all our deserved or undeserved reverence for the Greek and Latin classics, there is undoubtedly more good sense, more sound reasoning, more true knowledge, higher specimens of genuine poetry, of true eloquence, and of correct mental science in our own rich English literature than in all that Greece and Rome ever produced, so it is probably true that in Dwight's Theology there is more real truth, and a better view of the Christian system, than in all the Fathers put together; and that in the works of President Edwards, not always faultless themselves in this respect, there is more profound reasoning in theology than in all the defences of truth set up from the day when the last apostle died to the time of the Reformation. Theologians, more than any other men, are prone to be forgetful of the age in which they live. They love to live, to linger, and to wander amid the shades of the past. They are, proverbially almost, men unacquainted with common life; with the ordinary methods of business, and with the maxims that govern other men—and they seem often to be *as* ignorant of the methods of reasoning which should be employed in their own science, in the age in which they live. Why should Turretin's Theology be reproduced and studied as a text-book now, when three centuries have passed by since it was written, in which every

* Professor Park's Convention Sermon, p. 9.

thing else has been making progress? Why should Calvin's Institutes, valuable as they are, be regarded as containing the essence of wisdom?

One thing to be learned by the preacher—we fear a lesson less easily learned in the schools than it should be—is to live in the present rather than in the past; and, as Dr. Franklin once surprised the inhabitants of Paris by his discovery that the sun gives light always as soon as it rises, so one of the discoveries that often bursts on the mind of a young man who goes forth from a theological seminary, and that produces equal surprise, is, that he actually lives in the nineteenth, and not in the tenth or the sixteenth century.

(*c*) We referred to another kind of reasoning in theology, which we called the transcendental. We will not say that this is weak reasoning; we will not say that it is not satisfactory to those who employ it; we will not say that it is unsound in itself. Its quality is, that it is not understood by the mass of men; that it does not seem to be by those who employ it. It is not well for a man to pronounce on that which is to him incomprehensible; nor to denounce that which, though incomprehensible to him, may be, for aught he can tell, clear to other minds. All that it is proper to say on this point, is, that it does not well become the preacher, and is not well fitted to our country and age. Our American people are, perhaps, more than the people to whom the phrase was originally applied, distinguished for what Mr. Locke calls "large, sound, round-about sense;" and he will not be permanently useful as a theologian who does not remember that this is eminently the character of the American mind. In town or country—and less in the country than in the city—it does not become a preacher to undervalue the mental capacity of his hearers, or to suppose that all will pass for sound reasoning with *them* which may appear so to *him*, or which he may have been taught is sound reasoning in the theological schools.

The reasoning that *should be* employed by the theologian is such as men employ on other subjects; such as is adapted to the habits of thinking in the age; such as is fitted to the scientific and literary attainments of the age; such as indicates familiarity with the common topics of thought in the age; such as is fitted to grapple with the errors of the age, and to set the current of thinking right that is now setting in a wrong direction. It takes a young preacher—we will not say whether it is the fault of the prevailing systems of education—ordinarily several years to get through with his references to Homer and Virgil, Demosthenes and Cicero, and to learn that there were such men as Milton and Cowper, Burke and Chatham; it takes long to learn that it is not Thucydides or Herodotus who are affecting the opinions of men so much as Gibbon or Hume, Byron or Shelley, Hegel, Kant, or perhaps Strauss. How few among the hearers of the gospel read Plato or Aristotle! How few are influenced by their reasonings! How few care for their opinions! How few are affected in their views of the structure of the universe by the Theogony of Hesiod! How few care about these men! How few have even heard their names! It is modern science that is modifying the views of this age in relation to theology. It is some hard-working man in his laboratory; some travelling lecturer; some culler of plants or flowers; some microscopic anatomist, or examiner of human skulls; some geologist, busy with his fossil remains, that is secretly unsettling the belief of men in the truth of the Mosaic account of the Creation, or of the unity of the human race—Mephistopheles, perhaps, aiding and influencing some young Faust. The ancient philosophers and skeptics, the Celsuses, the Porphyrys, and the Julians, will not again appear on the arena to combat Christianity, nor would their reasoning be heeded if they should; but there will arise a host of men that are to be met by the armour adapted to this age, and whose difficulties are not removed,

nor their objections silenced, when you have disposed of all the objections that Celsus or Porphyry urged.

On this point we copy some valuable remarks from one of the most original writers of this age, having this advantage, too, in the matter before us, that he is a *layman*, showing how this subject appears to thinking and reflecting men acquainted with the world:—

"The mighty change which has taken place in the present century, in the direction in which the minds of the first order are operating, though indicated on the face of the country in characters which cannot be mistaken, seems to have too much escaped the notice of our theologians. Speculative theology and the metaphysics are cognate branches of the same science; and when, as in the last and the preceding ages, the higher philosophy of the world was metaphysical, the Church took ready cognizance of the fact; and, in due accordance with the requirements of the time, the battle of the Evidences was fought on metaphysical ground. But, judging from the preparations made in their colleges and halls, they do not now seem sufficiently aware—though the low thunder of every railway, and the snort of every steam-engine, and the whistle of the wind amid the wires of every electric telegraph seem to publish the fact—that it is in the department of physics, not of metaphysics, that the greater minds of the age are engaged; that the Lockes, Humes, Kants, Berkeleys, Dugald Stewarts, and Thomas Brownes, belong to the past; and that the philosophers of the present time, tall enough to be seen all the world over, are the Humboldts, the Aragos, the Agassizes, the Liebigs, the Owens, the Herschels, the Bucklands, and the Brewsters. In that educational course through which, in this country, candidates of the ministry pass in preparation for their office, I find every group of great minds which has in turn influenced and directed the mind of Europe for the last three centuries, represented, more or less adequately, save the last. It is an epitome of all kinds of learning, with the exception of the kind most imperatively required, because most in accordance with the genius of the time. The restorers of classic literature—the Buchanans, and the Erasmuses—we see represented in our Universities by the Greek, and what are termed the Humanity courses; the Galileos, Boyles, and Newtons, by the Mathematical and Natural Philosophy courses; and the Lockes, Kants, Humes, and Berkeleys by the Metaphysical courses. But the Cuviers, the Huttons, the Cavendishes, and the Watts, with their successors, the practical philosophers of the present age—men whose achievements in physical science we find marked on the surface of the country in characters which might be read from the moon—

are *not* adequately represented; it would be, perhaps, more correct to say they are not represented at all; and the clergy, as a class, suffer themselves to linger far in the rear of an intelligent and accomplished laity; a full age behind the requirements of the time. Let them not shut their eyes to the danger which is obviously coming. The battle of the Evidences will have as certainly to be fought on the field of physical science as it was contested in the last age on that of metaphysics. And on this new arena the combatants will have to employ new weapens, which it will be the privilege of the challenger to choose. The old, opposed to these, would prove but of little avail. In an age of muskets and artillery, the bows and arrows of an obsolete school of warfare would be found greatly less than sufficient in the time of battle, for purposes either of assault or defence."—HUGH MILLER: *Footprints of Creation*, pp. 54–56.

There is another remark to be made about the reasoning to be employed in theology. The true system of theology is *capable* of being so presented as to be satisfactory to minds of the highest order—for it is to the mind that is highest of all; the mind of the infinite One. What is greatly needed is such a representation of the doctrines of theology as shall be fitted to such minds. Take the subject of the atonement in its relation to law, and the doctrine of future punishment in its relation to justice. He will render an inestimable service to his age and to the world, who shall so discuss and so illustrate those doctrines as shall be satisfactory to minds deeply versed in jurisprudence—say to minds contemplated as in the attitude of the justices on the bench of the Supreme Court of the United States, or such as are in the Senate Chamber. Have we any such treatise now?

The works of former ages on these subjects, and the reasonings employed, meet few of the questions propounded in this age, and do little to beat down the skepticism of these times. Oh that God, from our colleges and seminaries, would raise up some man with the power of Edwards or Butler, who should employ his mind in grappling with these great questions as they are presented in this age, and who could stand before the great men of the world, and show them that, on the principles

of their own science, and by rules of reasoning which they admit, the doctrines of Christian theology, so clear to angelic minds, and to the mind of God, are such as should command the assent, and silence the cavils, and satisfy the inquiries of the thinking men of our own times!

* * * * * *

But is all thus changing, unfixed, uncertain? Are there no landmarks; is there nothing stable and permanent in this great science? Does all depend on the fluctuating views of mental philosophy; on the imaginations of men; on fancy, whim, caprice; on the idiosyncrasies of genius; on the creations of poetry; on the disclosures which shall be made in reading the stars, exploring the earth, or questioning fossil remains? Is the Christian theology to be ranked with the mythology of Hesiod or Homer? Is man forever to walk on a dark mountain where his feet are liable to stumble; on the borders of a dark and unknown sea, that reveals only gloom and storms? Must he sail forever on the bosom of that dangerous ocean with no light from the distant shore of eternity, that invites to a haven of peace? Is there no certainty; is there no rock on which the feet of the young theologian can stand; is there nothing that indicates permanency in the faith of man? Is there nothing to answer the questions to which we referred in the beginning of this article; nothing to calm down the perplexed and troubled feelings which arise in view of the darkness that surrounds us?

There is; and it seems proper that in the close of this article we should say a word to show that all is not unsettled and fluctuating, and that there may be an encouragement to those who intend to make this study the business of their lives.

(*a*) There is, then, as we have already hinted, a true system, alike in theology, and in all the sciences, and the world is struggling to ascertain what it is. In chemistry, in moral science, in anatomy, in astronomy, in jurisprudence, there is

a true system, and that system is permanent and unchanging. It was the same when the first chemist looked at matter to ascertain the laws which directed its insensible motions and combinations, which it is now; and when the first anatomist looked at the human frame to examine its structure, and when the first astronomer looked out on the heavens. Through all the varied forms of human belief, the true system in these sciences has remained the same, waiting for the successive developments of ages, or for the birth of the men of transcendent genius destined to carry the discoveries onward to perfection. And so there is a true system of theology; and, amid all the fluctuating opinions of the world, that ever has remained, and ever will remain, the same. The human mind struggles to find it:—often, indeed, amid much that is dark, much that hinders, much that perverts; often amid much weak reasoning, much antiquated reasoning, and much that seems to be reasoning, but which is not; but still the mind struggles on, and truths, before unseen, strike the eye, and old errors are laid aside, and the world will not let the truths that are discovered die, and progress is made, and patient thought is rewarded in theology as in all other departments of science.

(*b*) It is settled that Christianity is to be the permanent and pervading religion of the world. Nothing is so fixed as this in regard to the future; indeed, this is the only thing that is certain in respect to the years that are to come in the history of the world. Who is so sagacious that he can tell what political revolutions are to occur, or what dynasties are to continue, or what new discoveries are to be made in science, or what inventions in the arts? Who can map out the earth for a thousand years hence, and tell what kingdoms or republics will then occupy the places of those that now appear on the stage? Let him look at Babylon, and Tyre, and Petra, and Tadmor, and Alexandria, and Athens, and Rome, and Venice, and then undertake to tell what London, and Paris, and Vienna, and

Stamboul will be then. But in all that unknown future there is one thing that the eye sees clearly, and whose existence is beyond a doubt. It is Christianity: Christianity pervading the earth, controlling all classes of mind, regulating all laws, directing the intercourse of nations, and in its higher developments, meeting the highest wants of the world. For, it has been demonstrated that the Christian religion cannot be destroyed by arms, by power, by wit, by learning. No experiment has been more fairly made than this—to determine whether Christianity could be exterminated by imperial power, by argument, by ridicule, by the sword, the pen, and the faggot. It is settled, too, that Christianity takes hold of great elements in the mind of man; that, with all the opposition to it in the heart, there is something in man, everywhere, to which this religion is adapted; and that, much as man may dislike it, "the world will not let it die." It has seized upon the strong places upon the earth already, and, in its various forms, it is the *only* religion now that has the inherent power of self-propagation. Paganism extends into no new regions; Mohammedanism has long since ceased its efforts to bring the world under its control; and superstition is becoming content with its conquests; and, except in a single form, makes no efforts to spread its influence through the world. The fires on those altars are dying out, and it is only Christianity that preserves the vitality of an inextinguishable flame. It is settled, also, that somehow Christianity shows a remarkable affinity for the best form of *mind* that the world has developed—the Teutonic, and especially the Anglo-Saxon mind. It was early in the history of the nations that poured in from the North, and that overran the Roman Empire, that they were brought under the power of Christian truth; it was early in the history of the Anglo-Saxons that they abandoned their superstitions for the faith of the gospel. In most respects that mind, in its various branches, is the best mind in the world.

It has more vigour, energy, power. It is better adapted to the sciences, to patient toil, to enterprise, to the useful arts. It has more of that spirit of adventure which explores the seas and continents that make up the globe; that developes the resources of nations; that covers the face of the land with cities and towns, the fields with harvests, and the ocean with vessels of commerce. It has more expansive power; it secures a firmer grasp on all improvements; it strikes out more new inventions; it developes more resources in overcoming difficulties. It is more imbued with the love of liberty, and is less liable to be controlled by the sceptre of tyranny, or to be fettered and debased by superstition. It is now the ruling mind of the world, and is extending its conquests every year. There is now scarcely any portion of the world that does not feel and acknowledge its power, and when its conquests are made, they are likely to be permanent. It is not so much the conquest of arms, as the conquest of intellect; not the triumph of the sword so much as the triumph of the mariner's needle, the telescope, the quadrant, the blow-pipe, the power of steam, and the press. Now, it is undoubtedly a fact, that for some cause, Christianity has attached itself by indissoluble bonds to this class of mind. Its developments have been in close connection with the Christian religion. Rough at first, fierce, warlike, barbarous, it has been subdued, refined, civilized by its connection with Christianity, yet without losing aught of its energy and power. In connection with that mind, Christianity has shown some of its most rich and full developments; in connection with that, it is now found in all parts of the earth; and, alike by arts, and literature, and religion, is coming in contact with all the heathen mind of the world.

(*c*) In the course of ages—the long period which has elapsed since the Christian theology was revealed to mankind—there has been little essential variation in the great doctrines which have been maintained. No one can be ignorant, indeed, in

regard to the fact that diversities of opinion have existed, and that entire ages have been characterized by a general departure from what is now regarded as the true system of belief. But what we mean is, that the world works itself right on the subject of theology, as it does on other subjects. The departures from truth are temporary and local; the foundations are permanent and eternal. Fluctuations there may be; and error there may be; and divisions there may be, but men's minds come round again to the truth. The ambitious founder of a new sect dies, and his name is forgotten, or remembered only to warn a subsequent age against the same kind of error; the causes which gave a temporary popularity or triumph to the erroneous doctrine, cease to influence mankind; the book that was written in defence of error, and that seemed so ingenious and unanswerable, is forgotten, and scarcely finds a place in that time-honoured list of books "which no gentleman's library can be without;" and the world settles down into forgetfulness of the temporary error, and the belief of the permanent truth. Ambition of distinction has done its part; brilliant and erratic genius has accomplished its ends; the purposes of temporary popularity have been answered; the propagation of the error has brought out some permanent defence of the truth, and the founder of the sect and his books alike fade away from the memory of mankind. Who now, except the plodding teacher of ecclesiastical history, knows or cares much about Arius, or Eunomius, or Eustathius, or Lucifer of Cagliari, or Gregory of Nyssa, or Theodore of Mopsuestia, or Eutyches, or even Pelagius? Who knows much about the Fratres Poloni? Who reads those books? Who is influenced by their opinions? So it will be with many of the teachers of this age; with many of the books that raise a temporary dust, and that give a temporary fame to their authors. The world ultimately works itself right on the great matters of truth; and truth, in respect to its ultimate triumph, has nothing to fear.

How forcible, on this point, are the words of Milton :—

"And though all the winds of doctrine were let loose to play upon the earth, so truth be in the field, we do injuriously by licensing and prohibiting to misdoubt her strength. Let her and falsehood grapple; who ever knew truth put to the worse in a free and open encounter? Her confuting is the best and surest suppressing. He who hears what praying there is for light and clear knowledge to be sent down among us, would think of other matters to be constituted beyond the discipline of Geneva, framed and fabricated already to our hands. Yet, when the new light which we beg for shines in upon us, there be those who envy and oppose if it comes not first in at their casements. What a collusion is this, whereas we are exhorted by the wise man to use diligence 'to seek for wisdom as for hidden treasures,' early and late, that another order shall enjoin us to know nothing but by statute! When a man hath been labouring the hardest labour in the deep mines of knowledge, hath furnished out his findings in all their equipage, drawn forth his reasons as it were a battle ranged, scattered and defeated all objections in his way, calls out his adversary into the plain, offers him the advantage of wind and sun, if he please, only that he may try the matter by dint of argument; for his opponents then to sculk, to lay ambushments, to keep a narrow bridge of licensing where the challenger should pass, though it be valour enough in soldiership, is but weakness and cowardice in the wars of truth. For who knows not that truth is strong next to the Almighty; she needs no policies, nor stratagems, nor licensings, to make her victorious; these are the shifts and defences that error uses against her power: give her but room, and do not bind her when she sleeps, for then she speaks not true, as the old Proteus did, who spake oracles only when he was caught and bound; but then rather she turns herself into all shapes except her own, and, perhaps, tunes her voice according to the time, as Micaiah did before Ahab, until she be adjured into her own likeness. Yet is it not impossible that she may have more shapes than one? What else is all that rank of things indifferent, wherein truth may be on this side, or on the other, without being unlike herself? What but a vain shadow else is the abolition of 'those ordinances, that handwriting nailed to the Cross?' What great purchase is this Christian liberty which St. Paul so often boasts of? His doctrine is, that he who eats or eats not, regards a day or regards it not, may do either to the Lord. How many other things might be tolerated in peace and left to conscience, had we but charity, and were it not the chief stronghold of our hypocrisy, to be ever judging one another! I fear yet this iron yoke of outward conformity hath left a slavish print upon our necks; the ghost of a linen decency yet haunts us."—MILTON'S *Speech for the Liberty of Unlicensed Printing.*

(*d*) There is a permanent foundation for this in the nature of man. We mean, not that man by nature loves the pure truth of God, but that, if he embraces error, it so impinges on something in his nature; so fails to satisfy his wants; is so pernicious in its tendency, or so violates great principles which he is constrained by the laws of his being to hold, that he is compelled to abandon it. All the doctrines of a true theology are adapted to something in the nature of man, or in his condition and wants. And, as man is the same in every age, the true system will sooner or later be embraced, and the restless desires of the soul will never be satisfied until it is found. In reference to any one of the doctrines of a true theology, we think this might be shown to be a correct observation; but, we will select as the only illustration which our space will admit of, one where probably the illustration would be least likely to be sought, and where it would most commonly be supposed that it could not be found.

If we were to argue beforehand, and without reference to any facts which have occurred in the world, we should have said that the doctrine of eternal punishment *would* not be believed by mankind. The reasons for this opinion are too obvious to make it necessary to state them in detail. The subject is so incomprehensible; the difficulties in the way—drawn out with so much plausibility and power in the celebrated letter of John Foster—are so great; the bearing of the doctrine is so personal and so direct on our friends; the arguments as to what we might suppose a benevolent God *would do*, are so plausible, and so difficult to be set aside; and, we will add—in accordance with a remark which we have already illustrated, and which furnishes the best illustration of that remark that we could refer to—the reasoning in support of the doctrine is often so unlike the reasoning we employ on other subjects, so unsatisfactory, and sometimes so harsh and unfeeling, and the declamation of its defenders so misplaced and

revolting, that, if there were no facts in the case, we should have said that the doctrine of universal salvation would be the most popular that could be preached among men, and would be received readily by the great mass of mankind. Often have we wondered that the doctrine finds no more advocates; that those who hold it are so unwilling to be suspected of it; that men who are supposed secretly to believe it, so often preach a contrary doctrine; that its hidden friends so often suppose that it is necessary for moral purposes that the opposite doctrine should be preached, and that even such advice is sometimes given to those who are entering on the ministry. "A number (not large, but of great piety and intelligence) of ministers within my acquaintance," says John Foster, "several now dead, have been disbelievers of the doctrine in question; at the same time not feeling themselves imperatively called upon to make a public disavowal; content with employing in their ministrations strong general terms in denouncing the doom of impenitent sinners. For one thing, a consideration of the innumerable imputations and unmannered suspicions apt to be cast on any publicly-declared defection from rigid orthodoxy, has made them think they should better consult their usefulness by not giving a prominence to this dissentient point, while yet they make no concealment of it in private communications, and in answer to serious inquiries. When, besides, they have considered how strangely defective and feeble is the efficacy to alarm and deter careless, irreligious minds, of the terrible doctrine itself, notionally admitted by them, they have thought themselves the less required to propound one that so greatly qualifies the blackness of the prospect."*

But none of the anticipations which men would have cherished have been realized. There is something in the doctrine

* Life, vol. ii. p. 270.

of universal salvation which impinges on the nature of man, and which prevents the world from believing it to be true. Man has no selfish interest that can be traced, in believing the doctrine of future punishment, but every thing in his nature would seem to lead him, if possible, *not* to believe it. Yet these things are true in regard to it: (1.) That there has been no doctrine more steadily or constantly believed by the great mass of mankind in every age, and under every form of religion. (2.) That it has been found impossible to convince the world of the truth of the contrary doctrine. Somehow it impinges so much on great principles which men are constrained to hold, and on the obvious interpretation of all that has ever claimed to be a revelation from God, that, after all the difficulties on the subject, and all the ingenious reasoning employed, men still continue to hold it, and always will. It is impossible to convince the world of the contrary. It is certain that things have been so arranged that, whether the Bible be true or false, it is impossible for the mass of men to see the propriety of honouring or confiding in God, unless it be true that punishment awaits the wicked in the future world. For, it is undeniable, that God has so made man that he has these anticipations of wo in the future world as the consequence of sin, and that He has done much to foster this belief in every revelation that he has made to mankind. It is certain that he has appended these fears to guilt, and to the commission of sin. It is certain that there is an independent class of arrangements in the human mind, adjusted by the Maker himself, designed to produce and keep up this alarm in the anticipation of the future. It is certain that the administration of the world proceeds on this arrangement, and that God, in fact, in his administration, makes much, in restraining men, out of the apprehension of the wrath to come. It is certain that, under his hand, many of these dreadful fears spring up when, if there *is* no future punishment, they must be all false, and in

circumstances where it would be desirable that just the opposite state of things should exist:—on a bed of death, where a man—every man if there be no future punishment—is about to ascend to glory. And it is certain that God has done much to deepen this apprehension, and to continue the alarm, by what the Bible seems plainly to teach, and what He knew would only tend to keep up the impression in the world that the wicked will be punished forever. It is certain that the Saviour so spake, and that the Apostles so spake, as to leave the fair inference from their words that they believed that the wicked would perish forever. And it is certain that man, when he looks out upon the future, is so made as to apprehend and dread this. Need we refer to the language which man has uttered on the subject to show that this is so? Need we do more than refer to every man's own feeling in his sober moments? In a passage everywhere admired for its beauty, and known as far as our language is known, the great poet of nature has expressed the universal feelings of mankind on the subject:—

> "The dread of something after death—
> Th' undiscovered country from whose bourne
> No traveller returns—puzzles the will;
> And makes us rather bear those ills we have,
> Than fly to others that we know not of."

Why is this? Why does the future, the unknown, thus appear to man? Can any mental philosopher explain it except on the supposition that man feels that he is guilty, and that, being guilty, he cannot close his eyes on the fact that there is much to be dreaded in that unknown future? Could not God have so made us that the contemplation of the future, instead of rousing up images of horror and alarm, would have filled the world to come only with bright and cheering visions —drawing us on first to their contemplation, and then to their enjoyment? Is it not so to the angel? Is it not so to the

child? But it is not so with us: and we cannot tell *why* it is not so, except on the supposition that man is guilty before God, and that, being guilty, he has so made us that we *must* dread the future. And, things being so, if man *has* nothing to dread beyond the grave, we say that it would be impossible to love and honour such a being as God. For, on this supposition, he has deceived the world; he has created imaginary alarms; he is governing the world by false views originated by himself; he is taking advantage of groundless fears in man, to accomplish his own purposes; he is producing distress and wo every day, and even on the bed of death, which he knows to be based on a false foundation; and he has given a book to mankind in which, on its fair interpretation, the most solemn asseverations are made to the truth of things which have no foundation in fact. Man cannot honour and love such a Being as this. He may dread his power; he may tremble before his wrath; but he cannot confide in his character; and if he supposes that there is such a Being on the throne, his mind will be shrouded in deep and impenetrable sadness. In the strong language of Sir William Hamilton, when speaking on another subject, to suppose this "is to suppose that we are created capable of intelligence in order to be made the victims of delusion; that God is a deceiver, and the root of our nature a lie."* We would refer for the highest illustration of this which, perhaps, the world has ever known, to the views and feelings of John Foster. To him, all is dark—the past, the present, and that which is to come. That great man's mind —among the most profound, contemplative, original, and pure that the world has known—we need not say was a mind immersed in deep darkness, and surrounded with gloom. Even with his professed belief in the salvation of all men, he was greatly wanting in cheerful confidence in God, and

* Note A. on Reid, § 1, p. 743, as quoted in Biblio. Sacra, vol. vii. p. 415.

to him the past, the present, and the future, were painfully dark.

But we must close. Yet, in doing it, we would not leave the impression which we foresee some *might* get from the remarks which we have made. We would desire rather that our readers should feel the truth that theology is liable to no objections from the manner in which it is left to us, but that the whole subject is so arranged as to answer the best ends, and to furnish the best stimulus to one who is seeking eternal life.

We would show, then, if we can, in conclusion, that obscure as many things are in theology, and liable as the mind is to murmur and complain because no more is known, and weak as is the reasoning often by which the truth itself is defended, enough has been given to answer all the proper ends of a revelation; to make our condition safe; to furnish the best discipline to the mind, and to meet the actual wants and capacities of the soul.

Are not, then, all the essential purposes of revelation answered; has not all that is necessary to our condition been imparted, by the manner in which God has communicated his truth to us? For, are not all the essential purposes of a revelation answered, as adapted to our present condition of being; is not all imparted that is really necessary, if it will enable man to secure the salvation of his soul, and to prepare him to enter at last that world where all is light? Should it be a serious objection, and should it be allowed to embarrass us, if, while it does this, it does not also cast light on a thousand other points, however interesting and important they may be, and however the soul may pant to be informed in regard to them? And shall man reject the light he has, because there are many things which are left in the dark; many questions which are not answered? Revelation has a specific object and end, and it is no more reasonable to demand that that should be departed from, and other ends answered, than it is in the

sciences and in the ordinary transactions of life. That end would seem to be, to furnish light enough for man to reach heaven if he chooses. Revelation is not like the broad and clear sun that sheds down its rays on the spread-out landscape, covered with smiling fields, and flocks, and hamlets, disclosing each tree, and hill, and house, and the winding course of each rivulet; it is like the light-house that gleams on a dark and stormy coast, to reveal the haven to the ocean-tossed mariner.* "It shines afar over the stormy ocean, only penetrating a darkness which it was never intended to expel." The mariner can see that light clearly. It is sufficient for a guide. It cheers and animates him when the tempest beats around him. It shows him where the port is. It assures him that, if he reaches that spot, he is safe. And it is all that he needs from that shore now to guide him. True, it is not a sun; it does not dissipate all the darkness; it is a mere star, showing nothing but itself—perhaps not even its own reflection on the waters. But it is enough. There it stands, despite the storm and the darkness, to disclose just what he wishes to know. It has saved many a richly-freighted bark, and all that he needs is that it will save his own. Beyond the distance where it throws its beams, all is midnight. On a thousand questions on which curiosity might be excited, it casts no light whatever. "The cities, the towns, the green fields, the thousand happy homes which spread along the shore to which it invites him, it does not reveal." On a calmer sea, curiosity would be glad to know all about the land on which that light stands, and, if safely there, the feet may range over those fields "beyond the swelling flood," and the mind may be satisfied: but these are not the points that need to be agitated in the howlings of the tempest. And shall he reject the aid of that light because it discloses no

* National Preacher, December, 1845.

more? Shall he refuse its assistance in guiding his vessel into port, because it does not reveal to him all that there is in that land? Shall he murmur and complain, as if he was unkindly dealt with, because it does *not* do this?

Man is on a stormy ocean—the ocean of life—and the night is very dark. There are tempests that beat around us; under-currents that would drift us into unknown seas; rocks and breakers that make our voyage perilous. The revelation which God has given us is a light "standing on the dark shore of eternity, just simply guiding us there." It reveals to us almost nothing of the land to which we go, but only the way to reach it. It does almost nothing to answer the thousand questions which one would ask about that world; but it tells us how we may see it with our own eyes. It does not tell us all about the past—the vast ocean of eternity that rolled on countless ages before we had a being; about the government of God; about our own mysterious existence; but it would guide us to a world where what is now obscure may become as clear as noonday. If so, the science of theology is not liable to any well-founded objection because it has disclosed no more, and we should not murmur because we know no more: as the appropriate feeling of the mariner would be gratitude that the bright and clear, though little light, is kept burning on that stormy coast to guide every vessel that may chance to come into these waters; not of complaint that it does not reveal the hills and vales, the cities and the hamlets of that land.

And the solution of these thousand questions which we ask, and which so perplex us because they are not solved, and which lay the foundation for so much mental distress, and so much skepticism, is not necessary to our salvation, and, perhaps, would in no manner promote it. To recur once more to our illustration:—Desirable as it might be on many accounts to know all that there is in the land on which that light

stands to direct the mariner, yet that knowledge could not aid him in guiding his vessel into port. That it was a land of peace and plenty; that it was the place of his fathers' sepulchres; that it was the home of his wife and children; that it opened rich fields for commerce or for scientific research, might, indeed, stimulate and animate him amid the billows—as our hope of heaven does in the storms that beat around us; but how would the most minute acquaintance with that country aid him in guiding his vessel into port? And so we should probably find, if we would search our own minds, that the questions in reference to which we are most disposed to complain because they are not solved, are not those which really embarrass us in the matter of salvation, but those in reference to which our salvation may be equally easy and certain whether they are solved or not. How would it facilitate the matter to know why sin was permitted to come into the world; to be able to determine why God did not make man so that he could not sin; to know why the wicked are to suffer forever; to know all about the future state? When a man finds himself struggling in a stream, it does nothing to facilitate his escape to know how he came there; nor would it aid the matter if he could determine why God made streams so that men could fall into them; why he did not make every bank of iron or granite, so that it would never crumble beneath the feet.

What was needful in the matter of theology, natural and revealed, seemed to be to furnish so much light in regard to the future that our salvation should not be *necessarily* endangered—as in the case of our light-house; and then to leave so many unsolved but important questions as to place the mind in such a state that there may be *progress* but not *exhaustion;* to leave to the soul the stimulus derived from the fact that there are boundless fields of thought and energy before us:—that as the soul is immortal, there will be sufficient to occupy

it in all the vast eternity before us. Accordingly, this is the way in which God everywhere deals with the human powers. Youth is stimulated to make attainments in literature and science, by the very fact that there are vast fields yet unexplored,—and to a noble mind it is all the better if not a ray of light has been shed upon them. The explorer of unknown lands is cheered from the very fact that a vast and inviting field is before him which the foot of man has never trod; and, as he presses on in his obstructed way through fields of flowers new to the eye of man, and ascends streams on which man has never sailed, and climbs the mountain top on which a human being has never stood before, and looks abroad on rich valleys which still invite him, he is cheered and excited by the very fact that all this has been unknown—nor would he wish even his Maker to disclose all this at once to the world, and bid him sit down in supineness and inaction. Thus it was with Columbus, when the prow of his vessel first crossed the line beyond which a ship had never sailed, and plunged into unknown seas. Every wave that was thrown up had a new interest and beauty from the fact that its repose had never been disturbed before by the keel of a vessel; and when his eyes first saw the land, and he prostrated himself and kissed the earth, his glory was at the highest—for he saw what in all ages was unknown before. So we are everywhere stimulated and animated by that which is now unknown, but which may be known; by that which is not in our possession, but which may be gained; by the fields of new thought which have never been explored, but which man is at liberty to explore. How imbecile and supine would be all our powers if we felt that all had been explored that could be, and that there were no new discoveries to be made by man!

And here we will just say, in this connection, to those in early life—and particularly to those who have the pursuits of theology in view as the business of life—whose minds are per-

plexed because God has revealed no more; who find a thousand questions crowding upon them which they cannot solve; in whose minds there spring up skeptical, or murmuring, or blasphemous thoughts against God, and around whom on the most important subjects there seem to be the shades of the deepest midnight, that in a few years, as the result of calm examination and maturer reflection and observation, most of these difficulties will disappear. Light steals in gradually, but certainly, on a man's soul when he "watches daily at the gates of wisdom, and waits at the posts of her doors." Many of these difficulties will be solved, and will then cease to perplex the mind. Most, if not all of the remainder will be seen to pertain not peculiarly to the Bible, but to the government of the world as actually administered; as appertaining not to the Christian, or the Christian system merely, but as being matters in which all men are equally concerned, and which belong as much to any other system of religion or philosophy as to the Christian revelation. With this view, no uninspired book has ever done so much to calm down the troubles of the mind, and to silence the murmurings of skepticism, as the immortal work of Butler.

"In the early part of my biblical studies, some thirty or thirty-five years ago," says the father of biblical learning in this country, "when I first began the investigation of the Scriptures, doubts and difficulties started up on every side, like the armed men whom Cadmus is fabled to have raised up. Time, practice, continual study, and a better acquaintance with the original scriptural languages, and the countries where the sacred books were written, have scattered to the winds nearly all those doubts. I meet, indeed, with difficulties still, which I cannot solve at once; with some, when even repeated efforts have not solved them. But I quiet myself by calling to mind that hosts of other difficulties, once apparently as formidable to me as these, have been removed, and have

disappeared from the circle of my troubled vision. Why may I not hope, then, as to the difficulties that remain?"*

But further. Is it absolutely certain—is it even very probable—that we could comprehend any statements which could be made to us on the points which now most perplex us? If one should undertake to explain to an ordinary child of four years of age, the views which governed Canning in some great act of diplomacy, or all the bearings of the positions assumed by the different contracting powers at the peace of Tilsit, the difficulty would not be so much in the explanation, or in the thing itself, as in the immature powers; the want of knowledge; the feeble grasp of comprehension, of the boy that he should undertake to instruct. A few years may do wonders for that boy. He may then possibly grasp these principles more clearly than even Canning could; he might, perhaps, conduct a negotiation for peace with more ability than either of the representatives of the government of Russia, France, or Prussia.

There is a law of our being here which we cannot change or modify. Up to a certain point—a point which depends on the measure of our faculties, our age, and our attainments—a thing may be clear to us as the sunbeam, but beyond that it is impossible to convey any idea. The mind is confused and overpowered. It falters under the great and incomprehensible subject; and no matter how much we may *say* with a view to imparting instruction, not a new idea is conveyed to the mind. Up to a certain point, for example, we comprehend what is meant by distances. We know the length of the journey that we have made; we have an idea of distances as measured by the breadth of continents and oceans; we have a faint conception of the distance of the planets from the earth. But, beyond that, though we may use figures, and employ language,

* Professor Stuart, on the Canon of the Old Testament, p. 18.

we convey no distinct idea. When we speak of the nearest fixed star as more than twenty billions of miles from the earth, though we use accurate words, and are capable of conducting an investigation with the figures before us, yet what distinct idea have we of so amazing a distance? So it is of magnitude. Up to a certain point all may be clear; beyond that all is confused and overpowering. The magnitude of a mountain, or of the earth, or even of the planet Jupiter, we may form some conception of; but what conception have we of the magnitude of the sun? Still more, what conception have we of the magnitude of the universe? After a short distance in the description, we are lost, and there is no power that could convey the great idea to a finite mind. So it is of velocity. The fleet horse; the wind; the fast-sailing ship; the bird; the railroad car—perhaps the earth in its orbit, we may conceive of in regard to velocity; but what idea have we of the velocity of a substance that flies at the rate of twelve millions of miles every minute? So of heat. Of molten iron, or burning lava, we may form some conception; but what idea is conveyed to the mind when we are told of the comet that approached so near the sun as to be several thousand times hotter than red-hot iron?

How do we know but that it may be so on those great subjects that pertain to theology that so much trouble the soul, and that lay the foundation for so much skepticism in our world? Can one believe that the views of Metternich could be understood by a boy four years old; and "canst thou by searching find out God?"

How little, too, of the unseen and the future can be understood by any mere *description;* by any words that we can use! How little do we know of a landscape; a waterfall; by any description! Who ever obtained any adequate idea of Niagara by a description? Who to the most polished Greek or Roman mind, could have conveyed, by a mere description, an idea of

the printing-press, of a locomotive engine, of the magnetic telegraph? Who can convey to one born blind, an idea of the prismatic colours; to the deaf, an idea of sounds? How, even if both were endowed with the power of language and thought, could the gay butterfly, whose home is now the air, convey to its companion of yesterday, the low and grovelling worm, any idea of the new condition of being into which the chrysalis had emerged? How do we know but that it may be so about the dwellers in the heavenly world, and the employment of the blessed?

We are in the very infancy of our being; we have but just opened our eyes upon this wonderful universe, which in its structure demanded the wisdom, and power, and goodness of an infinite God! But yesterday we were at our mother's breast. We knew not any thing; not that a candle would burn us if we put our finger there; not how to distinguish one sound from another, nor whence any sound came. We knew not the use of eye, or ear, or hand, or foot. We knew not the name of one rock, or plant, or human being—not even what is meant by *father* and *mother*. We could neither walk, nor stand, nor creep. By slow degrees we first learned to creep. Then, sustained by the hand of a parent, we began to stand. Then, assuming boldness, to the delight of father and mother, we ventured off half a dozen steps alone. We began to utter sounds which were kindly construed into language. We lisped, and hesitated, and then achieved a great victory in mastering a few monosyllables. And now, forsooth, we wonder that we do not know all about God, and these worlds, and the moral government of the Most High. We complain that any thing is left dark. We murmur that we do not know why he permitted sin to come into the system; why he does not check and remove it altogether. We complain that he has not told us all about that system of government and of truth which angels contemplate, adoring, and into which they desire still to look; that

there is even *one* subject to which the human mind can apply itself that is not clear as noonday. We are sullen and silent; we withhold our gratitude; we reject the revelation which he has made to us; we have no songs, and no thanksgivings, because we are not told all about the earth and the skies—about the eternity past and the eternity to come—about heaven and about hell—about the infinite God that made, and that rules over all.

END OF VOL. II.

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